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LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

THE

CATHOLIC HISTORY

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

FIVE DISCOURSES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

TWO DISCOURSES ON THE RELATIONS OF IRELAND AND AMERICA.

BY THOMAS D'ARCY McGEE,

AUTHOR OF "THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND," "IRISH SETTLERS IN AMERICA," ETC., ETC.

DISCOVERY OF THE COMPASS.

BOSTON:

PATRICK DONAHOE,

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1855.

DEDICATION.

AT THE FEET OF

MARY, IMMACULATE,

THE EVER-BLESSED MOTHER OF GOD,

UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES AMERICA WAS

DISCOVERED AND EXPLORED;

WHOSE INTERCESSION OUR PIOUS PREDECESSORS ALWAYS INVOKED

WHOM THE CHURCH HAS GIVEN US

As Patroness of the United States;

I OFFER THIS LITTLE BOOK,

IN DEEP HUMILITY.

All Souls Day, 1854.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Discourses, delivered during the lecture season, 1853–54, first at New York, and subsequently, in part or whole, at Boston, Cincinnati, Washington, and Baltimore, were thought, by several of those who heard them, worthy of publication in a permanent form. When I state that among those who so judged there were many prelates, distinguished for acquirements and judgment, and others well versed in our *American* history, I trust the reader will believe that the publication has not been dictated by a merely personal presumption on my part.

The object of the author is stated in the three propositions with which the first discourse opens. The authorities on which he relies are quoted in

the foot notes in those instances where there was danger of a dispute as to facts. In the Appendix, certain documents which could not be inserted in the body of the work, will be found unabridged. They are of high interest in themselves, and essential to this argument.

With the humble request that the work may be taken as a sketch, or synopsis, or stop-gap, and no more, I commit it to the just judgment of the American public.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

		PAGE
I.	Columbus and the Discovery,	9
II.	The Successors of Columbus,	26
III.	The Aborigines and Missionaries,	39
IV.	The Catholics and the Revolution,	68
V.	The Church in the Republic,	90

THE RELATIONS OF IRELAND AND AMERICA.

I.	Historical Relations,	112
II.	Actual Relations,	136

APPENDIX.

I.	The Will of Christopher Columbus,	157
II.	Letter and Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in Relation to the Discovery of America,	171

III. Apostolic Letter of Pope Paul III., A. D. 1537, declaring the American Indians to be rational Creatures, . . 179

IV. Spanish Form of taking Possession, ... 182

V. The Jesuits in Canada, ... 186

VI. Address of the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, and his Reply, ... 194

VII. An Account of the blessed Catharine Tegahkouita, illustrating the Influence of Christianity on the domestic Life of our Indians, ... 199

CATHOLIC HISTORY OF AMERICA.

I.—COLUMBUS AND THE DISCOVERY.

I HAVE publicly announced for some time that I am prepared to prove in these discourses three propositions, to wit:—

FIRST.—That the discovery and exploration of America were Catholic enterprises, undertaken by Catholics with Catholic motives, and carried out by Catholic coöperation.

SECOND.—That the only systematic attempts to civilize and Christianize the aborigines were made by Catholic missionaries.

THIRD.—That the independence of the United States was, in a great degree, established by Catholic blood, talent, and treasure.

If I succeed in establishing these three propositions,—as I believe I shall succeed,—may we not hope that the offensive tone of toleration and superiority so common with sectarians will be hereafter abated; that more merit will be allowed to the ages before Protestantism, which produced all the

great oceanic discoverers; that a more respectful style may be used in speaking of Spain and Italy — the two arms of European civilization first extended to draw in and embrace America?

If I can show — as I believe I can — that since its discovery America has never been wholly broken off from its Catholic commencement, — that saints, popes, cardinals, and all the religious orders are associated inseparably with its annals, — then may I not hope to satisfy you, and through you to persuade your children, that the church is no stranger, no intruder, neither unknown nor untried here, but that as certainly as it is the oldest institution in Europe, so it is the oldest in America?

With your indulgence we will follow the chronological order. We will begin with Columbus and his successors, pass next to the missions among the Indian tribes, and then to the revolution and constitution of the United States.

It is not easy to cast back the imagination four centuries. Can you conceive what Europe was before Luther? or can you imagine America before Columbus? On this side no better vessel than a birch canoe burdened the waters, and the boldest native navigator rarely ventured beyond "the Narrows." North of the rude villages of the Natchez no towns were known; but over the land wandered a race, red, naked, barbarous, broken into petty tribes, unlearned in even the alphabet of civilization. Beasts of prey disputed with the wild huntsman the game his flint-head arrow overtook; and chance

sown timber fattened on the soil the Indian knew not how to cultivate. Can you imagine this continent so savage, so sylvan as it then was — so every way unlike what it has since become?

Turn, then, to the other side. Behold Europe four centuries since. How unlike the Europe of to-day! Printing had just been discovered; the ocean was as yet a mystery; Protestantism had not emerged; the Turks had lately taken Constantinople; the men of trade, enrolled in exclusive guilds, pursued the arts of peace in the intervals of war; the Italian cities were the centres of that traffic which had not yet removed its outposts into Holland or England; Commerce, shivering amidships in her open boat, steered from cape to cape, dropping her anchor with the evening, to weigh it with the dawn; walled and battlemented cities stretched along the seas and rivers, swarming with a laborious and believing generation. Above all rose Rome, mother and mistress of Christian nations, patron of every science, protector of every art, preserver of every relic of enlightened antiquity.

Under the fair sky of Italy, Christopher Columbus, the son of a Genoese wool comber, was born in the year of our Lord 1435. At the celebrated University of Pavia, endowed by Charlemagne and fostered by the popes, he received some degree of education. At fourteen years of age he was at sea; at twenty-four, captain of a galley for Rene of Anjou, who claimed to be King of Naples and Jerusalem. In the year 1470 he made his home in the

port of Lisbon, where he married, had a son born to him, and became a widower. Here he dwelt fourteen years, (interspersed by voyages into the north of Europe,) maintaining himself while on shore as a maker and peddler of maps.

It was an age of uncommon hardihood and speculation. In geographical science three persons deserve especially to be named as precursors of Columbus and the modern era — Cardinal D'Ailly of France, Paulo Toscanelli of Florence, and Prince Henry of Portugal.

Cardinal D'Ailly is considered by Humboldt the restorer of geographical science. His learning and virtues had raised him from a very humble origin to the councils of his king and the dignity of cardinal. Among many political cares and employments he made time to pursue his favorite studies, of which the *Imago Mundi* remains in evidence. This work is supposed to have been of service to Columbus.

Prince Henry of Portugal proved that princes might enrich their states as much by science as by arms. Led by his love of experimental study, he erected a palace at Algarves, on Cape St. Vincent. It combined the attractions of a court with the uses of an academy. Here he erected an observatory, entertained teachers of every art, and studied under them as humbly as any of his guests or dependants. He had chosen in early youth as a motto, "The talent to do good," and passed all his life between study and prayer. Under his auspices the

Azores were discovered and Africa partially circumnavigated. He died soon after Columbus came to Lisbon, leaving Portugal at the head of the maritime enterprise of the age.

Paulo Toscanelli occupied a humbler rank in life, but a higher place in science. He was a master of what remained of the ancient learning and an enthusiastic experimentalist. The canons of the great Church of St. Mary, in Florence, had given him the use of their tower for an observatory. There, raised as far above the populous city in space as in spirit; where the sweet incense stole up to the sky, saluting him as it ascended; where the solemn bells pealed out the hours around him,—he wrote encouraging letters to Columbus and devised that conjectural chart of the Atlantic which accompanied the admiral in his first voyage. The Tuscan died two years before his friend had been enabled to test in practice their common design.

At the court of Portugal there arose no successor to Prince Henry. Emmanuel, called "the wise," had little faith in the learned letters and conjectural charts exhibited by the Genoese sailor. After exhausting every hope, Columbus quitted Lisbon for the court of Spain, where he was destined, not without long delay and severe trials, to find the patronage he had sought so long.

It was in the year 1485 that Columbus came into Spain, where he spent seven years of negotiation and uncertainty before he was enabled to enter on a first voyage. From his arrival in Spain it is easy

to demonstrate the Catholic character of the man and the enterprise. American and British works on the discovery (even including the exquisite biography by Mr. Irving) do not bring out boldly the high religious character of either. I will endeavor to show wherein that character lies, by classifying the proofs as they relate to the admiral's *intentions*, to his first *friends*, to his *conduct* of the enterprise, and his *estimate* of it after he had succeeded.

The admiral might be called for his age, or indeed for any age, a learned layman. His letters show an acquaintance with the Christian fathers, particularly St. Ambrose and St. Basil; and with the Scriptures, especially the prophetical books and the Psalms of David. With Marco Palo, Cardinal D'Ailly, and other cosmographical writers he was familiar. But what gives the most decided tinge to his character is his enthusiastic devotion, his full conviction that he was an instrument in the hands of God. He saw visions; he heard heavenly voices; his dreams were prophetic. In Hispaniola, as he lay sick, and off the disastrous coast of Veragua by night, he heard a voice, which said to him, "God will cause thy name to be wonderfully resounded through the earth, and give thee the keys of the gates of ocean, which are closed with strong chains." * His son and biographer, speaking doubtless on hints received from the admiral, observes that the name *Columbus* rightly signifies a

* Humboldt's Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Geographie, t. iii. p. 234.

dove, as of one ordained "to carry the olive branch and oil of baptism over the ocean, (like Noah's dove,) to denote the peace and union of the heathen people with the church after they had been shut up in the ark of darkness and infidelity." Nor is his own frequent testimony wanting to prove that he considered himself as a special agent of divine Providence. In his capitulation with the Spanish sovereigns * he expressly stipulated that the gains arising from the discoveries were to be dedicated to the ransom of the holy sepulchre. In his letter to Pope Alexander after his first voyage, he repeats that such was still his purpose. "It was," says Mr. Irving, "meditated throughout the remainder of his life, and solemnly provided for in his will." † What intention could be more Catholic than this? A desire to rescue the holy sepulchre from the pollution of Mahometanism was the pious passion of the believing ages. That passion Columbus shared as deeply as St. Bernard, or St. Louis, or Godfrey, or Pope St. Pius. He belongs by right to the succession of the crusaders, and is every way worthy of their company.

It is no slight evidence of the religious character of the admiral that his best friends were found in the order of St. Dominic. "The purse of the worthy friar, Diego de Deza," (tutor to Prince Juan,) sustained him in adversity ; ‡ and when, in despair, he

* Concluded on the Vega of Grenada, April 17, 1492.

† See Appendix No. I. for this characteristic document.

‡ Irving, vol. i.

was about to quit Spain forever, at the convent of La Rabida he found a friend in the prior, Juan Perez, who brought him back to confidence and success. Leaving the disheartened suitor to rest himself among his monks, the prior, "saddling his mule at midnight," departed for the court and gained audience of Isabella. When he had urged with all his eloquence the suit of his friend, "I will assume the undertaking for my own crown of Castile!" exclaimed the illustrious lady. "I will pawn my jewels to defray the expenses of it if the funds in the treasury should be found inadequate!" The Dominican returned rejoicing to La Rabida. Columbus retraced his steps to the court; and the expedition was at last decided on.

Here let us pause. The previous conference at Salamanca is often ridiculed for its want of cosmographical knowledge and denounced for its bigoted adherence to the letter of the Scriptures. It might help to mitigate our contempt for the past to suppose a foreign shipmaster or mapmaker of the present day expounding a new geographical theory to one of our own academies. If the Spaniards were not before their age, they were at least not beyond instruction; for we are told that in this very conference Columbus "brought over the most learned men of the schools" to his side. It is known that several high officials, as the Treasurers Quintanilla and St. Angel, were his warm partisans at court. Yet granting — which is not the fact — that his novel theories met most opposition from churchmen,

what would that prove but that they were sticklers for the letter of the Scriptures? Churchmen have certainly desired to reconcile science to the sacred writings; and for this are they to be accused of enmity to *both?* Those who would fain fabricate another fiction like Galileo's persecution will find the facts too stubborn and the light too strong for them in the case of Columbus.

In the foreground of American history there stand these three figures — a lady, a sailor, and a monk. Might they not be thought to typify Faith, Hope, and Charity? The lady is especially deserving of honor. Years after his first success the admiral wrote, "In the midst of general incredulity the Almighty infused into the queen, my lady, the spirit of intelligence and energy. While every one else in his ignorance was expatiating on the cost and inconvenience, her highness approved of it on the contrary, and gave it all the support in her power." And what were the distinguishing qualities of this foster mother of American discovery? Fervent piety, unfeigned humility, profound reverence for the holy see, a spotless life as daughter, mother, wife, and queen. "She is," says a Protestant author, "one of the purest and most beautiful characters in the pages of history." Her holy life had won for her the title of "*the* Catholic." Other queens have been celebrated for beauty, for magnificence, for learning, or for good fortune; but the foster mother of America alone, of all the women of history, is called "*the* Catholic."

As to the conduct of the undertaking, we have first to remark, that on the port of Palos the original outfit depended; and Palos itself depended on the neighboring convent. In the refectory of La Rabida the agreement was made between Columbus and the Pinzons; from the porch of the Church of St. George the royal orders were read to the astonished townsfolk. The aids and assurances of religion were brought into requisition to encourage sailors, always a superstitious generation, to embark on this mysterious voyage. On the morning of their departure a temporary chapel was erected with spars and sails on the strand; and there, in sight of their vessels riding at shortened anchors, the three crews — numbering in all one hundred and twenty souls — received the blessed sacrament. Rising from their knees, they departed with the benediction of the church, like the breath of heaven, filling their sails.

The admiral had placed himself under the special protection of our Blessed Lady. His own ship was called the *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*. In his cabin lay the charts drawn up in the Church of *St. Maria Maggiore* at Florence. The first and last known land they touched at proved to be *St. Mary's*, in the Azores. The second island discovered was called *La Concepcion*, (the first being properly called San Salvador.) The whole fleet, "according to invariable custom," sang the *Salve Regina* every evening as the sun went down.* These are very remarkable facts

* This exquisite hymn is thus usually translated: —

of themselves ; but they become still more so when we remember that the see of Rome only a few years since, at the unanimous request of our own prelates, declared this part of the new world under the special patronage of the same Blessed Lady. Columbus, in his piety, had been beforehand with the bishops in choosing for America its august patroness.

On the night before the discovery of the first land, after the *Salve Regina* had been chanted, according to his biographers, the admiral made an impressive address to his crew. This speech must have been one of the most Catholic orations ever delivered in the new world. It has not been recorded ; it can never be invented. We can, indeed, conceive what a lofty homily on confidence in God and his ever Blessed Mother such a man so situated would be able to deliver. We can imagine we see him as he stands on the darkened deck of the *Santa Maria*, his thin locks lifted by the breeze already odorous of land, and his right hand pointing onward to the west. We almost hear him exclaim, "Yonder lies the land! Where you can see only night and vacancy, I behold India and Cathay! The

"Hail, O Queen, O Mother of mercy; hail, our life, our comfort, and our hope.

"We, the banished children of Eve, cry out unto thee. To thee we send up our sighs, groaning and weeping in this vale of tears.

"Come, then, our advocate, and look upon us with those thy pitying eyes,

"And, after this our banishment, show us Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy womb.

"O merciful, O pious, O sweet Virgin Mary!"

darkness of the hour will pass away, and with it the night of nations. Cities more beautiful than Seville, countries more fertile than Andalusia, are off yonder. There lies the terrestrial paradise, watered with its four rivers of life; there lies the golden Ophir, from which Solomon, the son of David, drew the ore that adorned the temple of the living God; there we shall find whole nations unknown to Christ, to whom you, ye favored companions of my voyage, shall be the first to bring 'the glad tidings of great joy' proclaimed 'of old by angels' lips to the shepherds of Chaldea.'" But alas! who shall attempt to supply the words spoken by such a man at such a moment, on that last night of expectation and uncertainty — the eve of the birthday of a new world?

Columbus and his companions landed on the morning of the 12th of October, 1492, on the little island which they called San Salvador. Three boats conveyed them to the shore: over each boat floated a broad banner, blazoned with "a green cross." On reaching the land the admiral threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and shed tears of joy. Then, raising his voice, he uttered aloud that short but fervent prayer, which, after him, all Catholic discoverers were wont to repeat. It is in these words: "O Lord God, eternal and omnipotent, who by thy divine word hast created the heavens, the earth, and the sea, blessed and glorified be thy name, and praised thy majesty, who hast deigned, by me, thy humble servant, to

have that sacred name made known and preached in this other part of the world." *

The nomenclature used by the great discoverer, like all his acts, is essentially Catholic. Neither his own nor his patron's name is precipitated on cape, river, or island. San Salvador, Santa Trinidada, San Domingo, San Nicholas, San Jago, Santa Maria, Santa Marta, — these are the mementoes of his first success. All egotism, all selfish policy, was utterly lost in the overpowering sense of being but an instrument in the hands of Providence.

After cruising a couple of months among the Bahamas, and discovering many new islands, he returns to Spain. In this homeward voyage two tempests threaten to ingulf his solitary ship. In the darkest hour he supplicates our Blessed Lady, his dear patroness. He vows a pilgrimage barefoot to her nearest shrine, whatever land he makes — a vow punctually fulfilled. Safely he reaches the Azores, the Tagus, and the port of Palos. His first act is a solemn procession to the Church of St. George, from which the royal orders had been first made known. He next writes in this strain to the Treasurer Sanchez : "Let processions be made, let festivals be held, let churches

* The original prayer, as given by Irving, from the *Tablas Chronologicas* of Padre Clemente, reads thus : —

"Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cœlum, et terram, et mare creasti ; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, quæ dignita est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur, et prædicatur, in hac altera mundi parte."

be filled with branches and flowers ; for Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, seeing the future redemption of souls." The court was, at the time, at Barcelona ; and thither he repaired with the living evidences of his success. Seated on the royal dais, with the aborigines, the fruits, flowers, birds, and metals spread out before them, he told to princes his wondrous tale. As soon as he had ended, "the king and queen, with all present, prostrated themselves on their knees in grateful thanksgiving ; while the solemn strains of the *Te Deum* were poured forth by the choir of the Royal Chapel as in commemoration of some great victory." *

To place beyond any supposition of doubt the Catholicity of this extraordinary event, one evidence is still wanting — the official participation of the sovereign pontiff. That it had from the outset.

On the 15th of March, 1493, Columbus reached Palos. On the 9th of May following Pope Alexander issued the famous bull, *inter cetera*.† In this bull, after reciting the relations of the Spanish sovereigns to the holy see, the pope proceeds to speak of the late discovery in these words : —

"We have heard to our great joy that you have proposed to labor and use every exertion, that the inhabitants of certain islands and continents remote and hitherto unknown, and of others yet undiscov-

* Prescott — Ferdinand and Isabella.

† See Appendix No. II. for this document in full; also for Count de Maistre's commentary upon it. As the first Papal bull concerning America, it is worth consideration.

ered, be reduced to worship our Redeemer and profess the Catholic faith. Till now you have been fully occupied in the conquest and capture of Grenada, and could not accomplish your holy and praiseworthy desires nor obtain the results you wished. You sent, not without the greatest exertions, dangers, and expense, our beloved son Christopher Colon, a man of worth and much to be commended, fit for such business, with vessels and cargoes, diligently to search for continents and remote and unknown islands on a sea hitherto never navigated ; who finally, with the divine assistance and great diligence, navigated the vast ocean, and discovered certain most distant islands and continents which were previously unknown, in which very many nations dwell peaceably, and, as it is said, go naked and abstain from animal food," &c.

On this recital the required sanction was conditionally given, the conditions being that the Spaniards should not trespass on discoveries already made by the Portuguese or any Christian power ; that they should not search for land within one hundred leagues west and south of the Cape de Verds, already possessed by Portugal ; and that they should "send to the said islands and continents tried men, who fear God, learned, and skilful and expert to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good morals."

In accordance with the requirements of the pope, there sailed in the second voyage of Columbus the

Right Rev. Bernardo Buyl, or Boyle, vicar apostolic for the new world, accompanied by twelve priests. The life of this ecclesiastic is less known than otherwise might be expected did we not learn that, after less than a year in the Island of Hayti, he joined in a cabal against the admiral, and returned to Spain, where he died. He seems to have been one of those who precede the apostles of nations, but are not destined themselves to be apostles. He is, however, to be remembered as having consecrated the first Christian church in the new world, on the feast of the Epiphany, 1494; as having founded the mission of Hayti; and as the first representative of the holy see in this region of the earth. His name and acts, obscure as they have become through time and negligence, do, nevertheless, supply the last conclusive link of evidence to the Catholic character of American discovery.

It is time to part with the illustrious sailor who has hitherto occupied us exclusively. His character transcends praise, as his achievements baffle description. He resembles not remotely Adam standing alone in the new creation, or Noah steering for the emerging peaks of Ararat. He stands in space the patriarch of the Atlantic isles and coasts; and all may see, who look upon him closely, that the prayers of our church move his lips in gratitude, while its cross overshadows him wherever he goes. What a lesson the life of that first European American teaches! How well did he unite faith and sci-

ence, the pious and the practical virtues! In the presence of Columbus no modern can boast a superior love of progress; but *his* progress was not of the kind that leaves religion altogether out of sight: —

> "———— Toil, and pain,
> Famine, and hostile elements, and hosts
> Embattled failed to check him in his course —
> Not to be wearied, not to be deterred,
> Not to be overcome."

Such was his career. But, with all the energy and courage of the American nature as it now is, he united the simplicity of the Catholic and the patience of the apostle. In one sentence we may say, that, of all the laymen who have lived or who lie buried in the new world, he was probably the best, as he is certainly the most illustrious, from the singular and incomparable nature of his achievements.*

* It may be necessary to note here, that the remains of the Admiral lie interred in the Cathedral of Saint Christopher, in the Havanna.

II.—THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS.

It might plausibly be objected that the character of a single actor, however eminent, is not enough to stamp its own religious impress on so vast an enterprise as the discovery of America. I admit the plausibility of the objection ; and, as the plausible is often mistaken for the real, it is necessary to forestall this fallacious escape, from the conclusion we have just arrived at.

The success of Columbus stimulated not only Spain, but all Europe, to oceanic enterprise. In this new career France may dispute the second place with Portugal ; England comes next ; Holland and Sweden last. The captains under all these powers were Catholics ; the observances and spirit of each expedition were Catholic ; the forms used by other nations in taking possession or in founding colonies were copied after Spain, and of course were Catholic. A little attention to the principal facts in each case will prove this to be an accurate description of the whole series of discoveries.

The Spaniards themselves were the first to follow up their own work. Alonzo de Ojeda and Vasco Nunez de Balboa are the chief of the Spanish

captains after Columbus. There are a score of others, very eminent in their day; but these two represent the whole order. Ojeda is a character history has loved to paint. Intrepid even to rashness, he well knew how to employ diplomacy when force fell short. A cavalier accomplished at all points, a courtier outshining all others of his age, every historian of American enterprise follows his career with willing praise. He was the discoverer of much of the coast of Terra Firma and the founder of the colony of San Sebastian. His courage, his disasters, his politic shifts were long to tell. In his first voyage (1499) he was accompanied by Americus Vespucci, a Florentine, who wrote an account of the expedition, and whose now forgotten book gave its author's name to the new world. For ten years Don Alonzo continued his American adventures, and at last died, a baffled, broken-hearted wight, at San Domingo, old in troubles rather than in years. The character of this captain was above all things remarkable for his enthusiastic devotion to our Blessed Lady. Bishop Las Casas relates that he always carried about him a little Flemish painting of the Mother of God, which, when wrecked on hostile coasts or bewildered in pathless wilds, he was wont to fasten against the next tree, then kneel before it and devoutly offer up his prayers. Once, having almost perished, toiling through the morasses along the coast of Cuba, he made a vow to erect a chapel to Our Lady at the first village he should meet, and

there deposit his picture for the veneration of all comers. This vow he lived to fulfil; and the Madonna of Ojeda was long held sacred by the Indians of Cueybàs.* When at last death overtook him,

* The subsequent story of Ojeda's picture is thus related by Mr. Irving: "Being recovered from his sufferings, Alonzo de Ojeda prepared to perform his vow concerning the picture of the Virgin; though sorely must it have grieved him to part with a relic to which he attributed his deliverance from so many perils. He built a little hermitage, or oratory, in the village, and furnished it with an altar, above which he placed the picture. He then summoned the benevolent cacique and explained to him, as well as his limited knowledge of the language or the aid of interpreters would permit, the main points of the Catholic faith, and especially the history of the Virgin, whom he represented as the Mother of the Deity that reigned in the skies and the great advocate for mortal man.

"The worthy cacique listened to him with mute attention; and though he might not clearly comprehend the doctrine, yet he conceived a profound veneration for the picture. The sentiment was shared by his subjects. They kept the little oratory always swept clean, and decorated it with cotton hangings labored by their own hands and with various votive offerings. They composed couplets, or areytos, in honor of the Virgin, which they sang to the accompaniment of rude musical instruments, dancing to the sound under the groves which surrounded the hermitage.

"A further anecdote concerning this relic may not be unacceptable. The venerable Las Casas, who records these facts, informs us that he arrived at the village of Cueybàs some time after the departure of Ojeda. He found the oratory preserved with the most religious care as a sacred place, and the picture of the Virgin regarded with fond adoration. The poor Indians crowded to attend mass, which he performed at the altar; they listened attentively to his paternal instructions, and at his request brought their children to be baptized. The good Las Casas, having heard much of this famous relic of Ojeda, was desirous of obtaining possession of it, and offered to give the cacique in exchange an image of the Virgin which he had brought with him. The chieftain made an evasive answer, and seemed much troubled in mind. The next morning he did not make his appearance.

"Las Casas went to the oratory to perform mass, but found the altar

the Christian cavalier desired his body to be buried in the porch of the nearest church, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."

Vasco Nunez, a bankrupt gentleman of Balboa, after holding some minor offices in the colonies, found himself, in the year 1512, governor of a settlement called Santa Maria, on this side the Isthmus of Darien. Receiving from an Indian of the interior a report of the existence of a great sea to the west, he resolved, with a handful of men, to go in quest of it. On foot, through tangled woods and fetid marshes, through craggy passes and hostile tribes, he forced his way for five and twenty days. At length he came in sight of a mountain top, from which, he was told, the ocean was visible. Halting his men on the slope, he advanced alone to the summit; and there, as he beheld the vast Pacific Sea spreading leagues away towards the south, he fell upon his knees in an ecstasy of joy and poured forth the full fervor of his Catholic heart to God. What a subject for contemplation, the glory and the humility of Balboa at that hour! Much as we may

stripped of its precious relic. On inquiring, he learned that in the night the cacique had fled to the woods, bearing off with him his beloved picture of the Virgin. It was in vain that Las Casas sent messengers after him assuring him that he should not be deprived of the relic, but, on the contrary, that the image should likewise be presented to him. The cacique refused to venture from the fastnesses of the forest; nor did he return to his village and replace the picture in the oratory until after the departure of the Spaniards." — *Las Casas*, Hist. Ind., cap. 61, manuscript. *Herrera*, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. ix. cap. 15.

admire his zeal and courage in the exploration, still more ought we to honor the deep sense of devotion which seized him on seeing for the first time, and alone, one of God's most wonderful works. The isthmus he governed is no longer a wilderness nor the Pacific a blank waste of waters. Cities are there; commerce is there; wealth is there. The dream of Columbus is almost realized; and the trade of India will yet be brought that way to Europe. Crowds of eager adventurers checker the land with new routes, and both oceans are alive with ships; but few of all who have to thank God for homes or fortunes on the Pacific shore have the moral courage to cast themselves, like Vasco Nunez, on their knees and render their first homage to the Lord of land and sea, the Giver of wealth and of conquest.

Farther southward still, the Portuguese discoverers, Cabral and Orellana, carried on the work of exploration. Finally, on the utmost southern cape the pious Magellan planted the cross. In all the Portuguese voyages, the same religious characteristics prevail as in those of the Spaniards.

At the north we once more meet with the Italian genius in Verazzano and the Cabots. From the Chesapeake Bay to Massachusetts they coasted the continent, entered its rivers, and erected crosses on cape after cape. The Cabots were in the service of England; but as yet England was Catholic, and the creed of an Italian was no insuperable bar to his employment. This section of the continent,

which now prides itself on its peculiarly Protestant antecedents, was thus found and described by our predecessors in the faith a full century before the Puritan or the Quaker had yet dreamed of colonizing in the new world.

Still farther north we come upon a new manifestation of Catholic energy and piety — the French discoveries. Verazzano was in this service; but he perished at sea on his second voyage, and his fame has been eclipsed by that of Jaques Cartier, discoverer of the St. Lawrence and founder of Quebec. He is the leader of an illustrious band — the Champlains and La Salles. It is proper to make some brief mention of each of these personages. Cartier sailed on his first voyage from St. Malo on the 20th of April, 1534; and on the 24th of July following he erected a cross, thirty feet high, on the shores of Gaspe Bay. Like all the rest of the early captains, he was a man of real piety. In the Cathedral of St. Malo he received the blessed sacrament and the benediction of the church on his departure and return from each voyage. His discoveries he generally named after the saints on whose festivals they were made. St. Laurent, L'Isle de l'Assumption,* St. Croix, the St. Charles River, St. Roques, mark the series of his successes and the spirit of the man. He especially held it fortunate that he had discovered "the beginning of Canada" on "the vigil of the Blessed Virgin," his "star of the sea" also.

* Now Anticosti.

Champlain, the most distinguished of the successors of Cartier, sailed for the St. Lawrence in the year 1603. For two and thirty years he continued the indefatigable explorer of the north-west. "To him," says Mr. Warburton, "belongs the glory of planting Christianity and civilization among the snows of these northern forests."* "Champlain," says Mr. Bancroft, "considered the salvation of one soul as of more importance than the conquest of an empire." He was the navigator of the Upper St. Lawrence, the discoverer of the lake that bears his name, and of the Lake St. Sacrament.† He was the founder of many towns, the patron of all the missions, the friend of the Indians, the first and the best governor of New France.

Robert, Cavalier La Salle, as the first explorer who navigated Ontario, Erie, Michigan, and Huron, deserves to be enumerated with the great captains. A native of Rouen, early employed in the colonies, he had been instigated by the reports of missionaries to seek through the northern lakes a passage to the Gulf of Mexico. Building a schooner on the Cayuga Creek, he ascended the lakes in 1679 chanting the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Carrying his boats overland from the Miami to a branch of the Illinois River, he forced or found his way into the Upper Mississippi. For many years, with most heroic constancy, this soul of fire and frame of iron was devoted to the task of opening routes between the

* Warburton's Conquest of Canada, vol. i. p. 96.

† Now Lake George.

Gulfs of St. Lawrence and of Mexico, until he perished in his enterprise by the hands of two of his own unworthy followers, on an excursion into Texas, in 1687. The Catholic character of La Salle is marked in every act of his life. He undertook nothing without fortifying himself by religion; he completed nothing without giving the first fruits of the glory to God. He planted the cross wherever he landed even for an hour; he made the western desert vocal with songs, hymns of thanksgiving, and adoration. He is the worthy compeer of De Soto and Marquette; he stands sword in hand under the banner of the cross, the tutelary genius of those great states which stretch away from Lake Ontario to the Rio Grande. Every league of that region he trod on foot, and every league of its water he navigated in frail canoes or crazy schooners. Above his tomb the northern pine should tower; around it the Michigan rose and the Mexican myrtle should mingle their hues and unite their perfumes.

The career of La Salle forms a perfect counterpart to that of the illustrious De Soto, who, leaving behind him Cuba, of which he was captain general, landed at Tampa Bay, in the year 1539, to explore the mainland. For three years, without supplies, he pursued his plans, traversing poisonous swamps and burning sands, rafting bayous and fording rivers, unwearied, but not unworn. He saw his men perish around him month after month; he was incessantly assailed by the hardy natives of the region; he knew that repose and riches awaited him

in Cuba or in Spain; but he scorned to turn back or to confess a failure. At last, by the great river he had discovered, in the shadow of the cross he had planted, he died; and the loyal remnant of his once proud company buried his body by night in the midst of the stream, lest the savages should devour it. Thus perished Don Hernando de Soto, in all great qualities the equal of the most illustrious explorers; thus he fell in the wilderness, and the sorrowing Mississippi took him in pity to her breast.

British books of history in general have presented only two figures — Cortez and Pizarro — as the successors of Columbus, and all their actions have been painted in pitch. American history has been more just. Irving, Bancroft, and above all Prescott, have done justice to the noble Spanish nation, and even to Francisco Pizarro. Mr. Prescott prefaces his History of the Conquest of Peru by an analysis of the civilization of the Incas. That civilization, poetized by the infidel Marmontel, will be found to rest on fundamental laws repugnant to all Christian ethics. Its worship was a perpetual human sacrifice; its people were held in the darkest ignorance; the laws requiring the Inca always to marry his sister established incest as the condition of legitimacy. Such was the system; and the Inca Pizarro overthrew was undoubtedly one of the most sanguinary that ever sat on the golden throne of Manco Capac. That guilty civilization, I know, does not justify the cruelties of its conquerors; it would

justify a strong and sweeping, but not a bloody and perfidious policy, such as in general Pizarro pursued. But it is not honest to confound him with Cortez. In his History of the Conquest of Mexico, the distinguished American historian has shown that the alleged excessive cruelties of Cortez have been much exaggerated; nor is it possible to look on the present population of Mexico and believe that at any time extermination of the natives was the policy of the conquerors. The native race still remain to testify by their overwhelming numbers to the general humanity of their Spanish invaders. But, whatever may be said on this head, I confess I cannot see much resemblance in the characters of Cortez and Pizarro.

Cortez, a don by rank, a lawyer by education, landed on the Mexican coast in the spring of 1519, and in the autumn of 1521 sat an unquestioned conqueror in the oft-quoted "halls of the Montezumas." The most brilliant campaigns which the new world has seen were fought by him in three short summers. Cortez was not only, like the rest, brave as a Castilian, but he was a very able, and perhaps an original, statesman; he was, besides, a true Spanish orator and a graceful and powerful writer. His burning the ships, as soon as he had landed, to cut off every chance of retreat; his *coup d'état* in seizing the person of the Aztec emperor; his conquest of his rival Narvaez, and incorporation into his own ranks of the very men sent to capture him, — evince genius of a high order. In some qualities

he is, perhaps, the greatest character that ever stood on the soil of the new world, either at the north, or the south, or the centre.

Of the conqueror of Peru it is impossible to speak in terms of forbearance. Base by birth, and unfortunate in all his early career, he landed with some two hundred men on the Pacific coast, in 1532, to undertake the conquest of Peru. He succeeded, not by a series of fierce battles or wise precautions, but by the *coup* of Caxamalca. In one year he had seized the Inca, executed him, and divided fifteen and a half millions of gold and silver spoils between the crown and his own followers. He died in 1541, by the hand of an assassin, in his palace at Lima, after having reached the rank he so much coveted — Viceroy of Peru. Between him and Cortez there are more points of difference than of resemblance. The main likeness is in this — that both with small forces conquered populous regions in the same age and quarter of the world. But Hernando Cortez was the first, was an original, and had many peculiar difficulties to overcome. The Aztec policy and paganism were of hardier growth than the Peruvian ; the resistance of Mexico was more formidable than that of Cuzco or Quito. Cortez was a scholar, a cavalier trained in the old Spanish school ; he was naturally generous and merciful, if we judge him by facts, not by the prejudiced portraits of English historians, who have never forgiven Spain for the Armada ; or by French infidels, who have never forgiven her for her orthodoxy.

Pizarro, on the other hand, is an exception to all the Spanish captains. Born a bastard, he was reared a foundling; untaught to read or write, the standing target of faction, with no true friends but his own wit and courage, he triumphed by cruelty; he fell by assassination. I say that he is no fair type of the class I speak of: he stands alone, and owes his sad celebrity partly to the fact that he does stand alone. Unlike Nunez in humanity, unlike Cortez in statesmanship, unlike De Soto in chivalry, he cannot be correctly said to belong in spirit to the first discoverers; nor can it be shown that he formed any school of his own. I would fain make this distinction clearly understood, for the sake of the truth of history.

While I have not felt free to denounce the whole Spanish race for the sins of some of their first chiefs and settlers, neither must you understand me as justifying all their actions. Their colonial system was unquestionably very liable to abuse, as I may show when I come to contrast it with the French system, in the missionary period of this history. I speak at present only of the first captains; and I solemnly protest against accepting a Pizarro or an Ovando as a representative of the Catholic leaders of American discovery. Ojeda, Vasco Nunez, Cortez, De Soto, Cabot, Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, — why are they forgotten or unstudied? In all that distinguishes human nature — as courage, energy, fortitude — they were conspicuous; in piety, virtue, integrity, they will bear

comparison with any equal number of the world's great men. Pizarro is not of them — Ovando is not of them. They were not free from faults ; but neither did their faults outnumber their virtues. They were a brood of eagles, emigrating farther and farther into the wilderness as population sounded from behind. Most of them died in the regions they had marked out for their own. None of them fared better than Columbus — none of them ruled in their posterity. In the islands or on Terra Firma, with two exceptions, their unknown graves are scattered in solitary places, and the names they dreamed to make immortal are now almost unknown. "The last have become first, and the first have become last." They were all Catholics, who undertook their several works of exploration and discovery with Catholic motives, and who succeeded only through Catholic coöperation.

III.—THE ABORIGINES AND MISSIONARIES.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, North America — to which we will hereafter confine the subject — was claimed in parcels by Spain, France, England, and Holland. The exact civil boundaries of each power at that period cannot be traced, from their constant fluctuations and the frequent disputes between the parent countries. In the present discourse we shall consider each religion in its relations to the aborigines. The Catholic colonies come first in order of time. Let us ask at the outset, Was the colonial system of Spain or France favorable, or the reverse, to missionary enterprise? I have no hesitation in saying that the Spanish system was unfavorable, and that most of the religious good done in New Spain was done not only without, but against, the influence of the Spanish crown. Ferdinand of Arragon, a thorough worldling in politics and in philosophy, after the death of "the Catholic" wrung by concordat from Rome the nomination of all the bishops, and, through the bishops, of all the *cures* of New Spain. He already held its whole soil in fee for the crown; he now claimed and obtained, on certain conditions, the

right to control and farm all its ecclesiastical revenues. Practically these concessions made him the head of the Spanish American church — an evil headship, from the effects of which that church has never recovered. Further: his claiming the perpetual fee of the soil was unfavorable to the free emigration of a European laity. It was favorable only to the emigration of officials or the exportation of convicts. As Dr. Robertson remarks, "The colonies were kept in a state of perpetual pupilage," while "the prisons of Spain were drained" to recruit them. We learn, hardly without surprise, that, "sixty years after the discovery of the new world, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed *not to have exceeded fifteen thousand.*" * Thus royal avarice defeated itself and created innumerable impediments for religion.

The colonial system of France was much more favorable to missions than the Spanish system. The king had originally granted the viceroyalty of New France to the Prince of Condé, who in 1620 sold it to the Marshal de Montmorenci; from whom again it was purchased by Henry de Levi, Duke de Ventadour, at the time a novice of the company of Jesus. Richelieu transferred it again to a company called the Company of one Hundred Associates, under whom both Acadia and Canada began to flourish. But throughout, though the French crown claimed the fee of the soil, its policy was always to

* Robertson's America, book viii. p. 92.

grant large tracts to seigneurs—a policy not unfavorable to the settlement of new colonies. The bishops also had seigneurial rights, but were, especially during the long reign of Louis XIV., directly dependent on the crown. Some of the religious houses — as the Sulpicians of Montreal — had similar rights, and were thereby enabled to undertake distant enterprises and to found extensive establishments for educational purposes. It is true nevertheless, both of New France and New Spain, that the religious orders, unaided and unendowed by the parent state, effected more than the secular clergy and their amply endowed establishments combined.

We have already seen that, within two months after Columbus's return, the pope had charged the Spanish sovereigns, in the bull *inter cetera,* to send out to the newly-discovered countries "tried men, who fear God, and skilful and expert to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good morals." Julius II. and all subsequent popes were equally zealous for the salvation of the same race, of which the memorable bull of Pope Paul III., issued in 1537, declaring them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the sacraments of religion, is a crowning proof.* Columbus himself was most desirous for the conversion of the Indians, in which desire he was cordially seconded by Queen Isabella. "She was filled," says Mr. Irving, "with a pious zeal at the idea of effecting such a work of salva-

* See Appendix No. III.

tion." For the six Indians first presented at court she stood godmother. "Isabella, from the first," adds Irving, "took the most warm and compassionate interest in the welfare of the Indians. She ordered that great care should be taken of their religious instruction; that they should be treated with the utmost kindness; and enjoined Columbus to inflict signal punishment on all Spaniards who should be guilty of outrage or injustice towards them." On the second voyage, twelve zealous and able priests, under the Right Rev. Bernardo Boyle as vicar apostolic, commenced the work of religion by consecrating a chapel at Isabella, in Hayti, on the feast of the Epiphany, in the year of our Lord 1494. That is the historical date of the Catholic religion in the new world. The new vicar apostolic did not long remain, as we have before said, in Hayti: after a year's sojourn he sailed for Spain, and did not return. The seven following years the islands were left without any regular ecclesiastical head, until, in 1501, Bishop de Espinal, "a venerable and pious man," with twelve Franciscan fathers, was sent out to conduct the missions. In the next year Father Bartholomew Las Casas, a Dominican, entered on the American mission. "The whole of his future life, a space exceeding sixty years, was devoted to vindicating the cause and endeavoring to meliorate the sufferings of the natives. As a missionary he traversed the wilderness of the new world in various directions, seeking to convert and civilize them; as a protector and champion he made several voy-

ages to Spain, vindicated their wrongs before courts and monarchs, wrote volumes in their behalf, and exhibited a zeal, and constancy, and intrepidity worthy of an apostle. He died at the advanced age of ninety-two, and was buried at Madrid, in the Church of the Dominican convent of Atocha, of which fraternity he was a member." *

Upon one of Las Casas's complaints of injustice to the Indians, (A. D. 1516,) a commission, composed of Hieronymite monks, was sent out by the regent, Cardinal Ximenes, to inquire into the grievances of the aborigines. This commission is a remarkable link in our chain of evidence. All historians speak in the highest terms of the discretion and justice of the Hieronymites. "The exercise of their powers at San Domingo made a great sensation in the new world, and for a time had a beneficial effect in checking the oppressive and licentious conduct of the colonists." † The same illustrious cardinal "peremptorily" rejected, according to Robertson, applications for licenses to import African slaves into the colony — thus honorably connecting his name by a double service to humanity with our earliest civilization.

We may mention here another historical Dominican — Father Olmedo, chaplain to Cortez. Mr. Prescott represents him as the good genius of the expedition; as wise as benevolent; "beautifully illustrating in his conduct the precepts which he

* Irving's Columbus, vol. iii.; Appendix, p. 416.
† Irving, vol. iii. p. 237.

taught ;" as one who, "if he followed the banners of the warrior, it was to mitigate the ferocity of war, and to turn the triumphs of the cross to a good account for the natives themselves, by the spiritual labors of conversion." After the conquest of the city the same author adds, "The missionaries lost no time in the good work of conversion. They began their preaching through interpreters until they had acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They opened schools and founded colleges, in which the native youth were instructed in profane as well as Christian learning." Twenty years after the conquest Father Toribio "could make the pious vaunt that 'nine millions of converts had been admitted within the Christian fold.'" In the much diminished territory of Mexico as it is, there were, in 1850, four millions of Indian Christians, practical or nominal, two millions of mixed race, and one million three hundred thousand of European descent. If populousness be, as Lord Bacon says, a test of civil society, the preservation of the aborigines may certainly be called so, and be adduced as a proof of Spanish tolerance. The aborigines are still there; they are not exterminated; they are Christians, who live more or less up to that high and holy standard; they present in Mexico, at this hour, a living monument of the saving spirit of Catholic civilization.*

* In a lecture on Mexico, delivered at St. Patrick's Church, Buffalo, on the 25th of September, 1853, by the venerable Bishop Timon, who had lately passed some months in that country, he observed, —

Connected with the Mexican missions, I might mention those of the Jesuits in California which still happily exist, and which were the only centres of civilization before the discovery of the gold mines. Anciently California was included under the name of Mexico, and is, I presume, comprised in the general results I have given. One fact peculiar to that region ought, however, to be mentioned. Father Picola, who was there a century and a half ago, was not unaware of the treasures it contained. "I have no doubt," he wrote to the Mexican government in 1702, "that most valuable mines might be discovered in many places were they but sought for; since this country is under the same physical influences as Cinaloa and Sonora, which are so richly veined with the precious metals." He had no doubt gold was there; but for his part he was better employed than to prospect for it — unlike those Episcopalian ministers of our own day whose mining zeal and missionary languor have been so eloquently de-

"An evil now, as formerly, exists in Mexico, and might account for much relaxation of discipline. Bishops are too few; it is morally and physically impossible for them to fulfil the duties of their office. France has seventy-seven bishops and fourteen archbishops; Ireland, with seven millions of Catholics and a territory not more extensive than a single diocese of Mexico, has four archbishops and twenty-four bishops; and Mexico, with seven or eight millions of Catholics and a territory so vast, has only one archbishop and nine bishoprics, with actually only six bishops, the former incumbents being dead. Of the last four bishops of Guadalajara, but one, during a very long administration, was able once, and only once, to visit all his diocese; the other three visited but a small part; the whole four died on the visit — one as he completed it, the others as they labored along it."

plored in the convention of their sect lately sitting in New York.*

Against the civilizing effects of the Spanish missions the wild life led by the mounted tribes of Texas (Camanches and Apaches) has been sometimes cited.

* The Protestant Episcopal Convention for 1853. At this convention Dr. Kip, author of "The Jesuits in America," was appointed their bishop in California. Here we may mention that, after the Provincial Council of 1852, San Francisco was raised by the holy see to the dignity of a metropolitan church, and the first bishop of Monterey, the Right Rev. Joseph Allemany, translated thereto. It may not be considered amiss if we put on record in this place an extract as to the origin of San Francisco from one of the newspapers (the *Golden Era*) now published in that city: —

"How great," exclaims this writer, "are the changes in the womb of Time! Upon the 27th of June, 1776, seventy-seven years ago, San Francisco first became known in history. Father Junipero de Laru, one whose name and deeds in Upper California have secured the proudest niche in its history, — one whose monument should stand in the first place in our public square, as a testimonial of respect, — landed at this place, accompanied by a few settlers from Sonora. Was it the desire of gold that attracted him hither? Certainly not. Was it the desire to take possession of its property? No. Was it the desire to live independent of Mexico? No; none of these. It was to make spiritual conquests — to reduce the savage to the yoke of Christ — to illustrate the doctrines of the true God in his own life and precepts. And fully he accomplished the task. Look at that old Presido and that venerable Mission of Dolores, and behold the first house erected. These are his handiwork. San Francisco has this at least to boast of, that the first building erected within it was dedicated to God's worship under the patronage of St. Francis.

"The Mission Dolores was founded on the 8th of October, 1776. Its population was composed of a few soldiers at the presido. In 1836 the first house within the limits of the city was erected by S. P. Lery, an American, on Dupont Street. At this time there were fifteen soldiers at the military post, under the command of Gamazonila Flores; while at the Mission Dolores the population of emigrants and their descendants was about sixty-four souls, exclusive of Indians."

And who rises to accuse them? The whites in Texas are surely not blameless for the state of things as they are. The most distinguished of their number — General Houston — has assured me that the Indians "*never* were the first to break the treaties." He is an unimpeachable witness; for he has been a chief among the savages and a lawgiver of the whites. Besides, we know that "the Indian missions," with their schools and chapels, were long since wasted by the North Americans settled in Texas. In the neighborhood of San Antonio de Bexar the painful evidence is displayed to every passer by, in the desertion and destruction of the once flourishing schools of "Concepcion" and "San Jose." The *nopal* and the peach now ripen on the ruins of those establishments; Italian columns lie prone on the earth; and Seville bells swing with the wind in roofless belfries. It does not well become those who have made such ruins to arise in accusation against the Camanches.

The early Dominican and Jesuit missionaries in Florida are worthy of special remembrance. The first fathers of whom mention is made were two who left Spain in 1547, armed with an ordinance that all natives of Florida held as slaves in the islands since De Soto's expedition should be liberated. Soon after reaching Florida they were scalped and eaten by the savages. In 1565 Father Martinez, the first Jesuit who entered the same territory, shared the same fate. In 1578 three more of the

same order perished in the same manner. But after a long and ferocious resistance, extending till the beginning of the next century, it was given to the reformed Franciscans to convert Florida. Christianity for a while reigned over the everglades, and its solemn hymns resounded from many belfries besides those of St. Augustine. Colonial warfare, inhuman traffic, and Protestant persecution at last blighted the growing good and effaced the glorious work so bravely commenced and so fearlessly carried forward in all the provinces of New Spain.*

The northern missions, interrupted by the first capture of Quebec in 1629, were resumed by the Jesuits immediately on its restoration. From that event till the Iroquois war there were ten years of peace and missionary triumph. "Within ten years," says Dr. O'Callaghan, "they had completed the examination of the country from Lake Superior to the gulf, and founded several villages of Chris-

* "From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavored to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interposition the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigor of their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as secular, are still considered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed." — *Robertson's America*, book viii. p. 249. London edition of Jones and Co., 1826.

tian neophytes on the borders of the upper lakes. While the intercourse of the Dutch was yet confined to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Orange, and five years before Eliot, of New England, had addressed a single word to the Indians, within six miles of Boston Harbor the French missionaries planted the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, whence they looked down on the Sioux country and the valley of the Mississippi." *

In the midst of these successes "the Iroquois war" broke out — a war in which paganism, incited and armed by Protestantism, furiously assailed the only Christian missionaries who had yet ventured into the depths of the forest. "The war," says Mr. Shea, "proved fatal to the allies of the French. In 1650 Upper Canada was a desert; and not a mission, not a single Indian, was to be found where but a few years before the cross towered in each of their many villages and hundreds of fervent Christians gathered round their fifteen missions." † Six fathers had won the martyr's crown; one was mutilated for life; and some of those who escaped had only deferred their time a few years later. In the massacre the missions in the western part of New York were destroyed and Father Garnier put to death. Father Isaac Jogues, illustrious for courage and sufferings, escaped with mutilation, returned to

* O'Callaghan's Doc. History of New York, vol. i.
† Shea's Exploration of the Mississippi.

France, but, burning with predestined zeal, came back some years after, and met his heroic death in the Mohawk valley. This mission notwithstanding was reopened again and again until the state passed into English hands, when the penal laws were most rigorously enforced.

The martyrdom of Lallemand and Brœbeuf upon Lake Huron deserves to be cited. In the winter of 1649 their missionary village was captured by a war party of pagan Iroquois armed with Dutch firelocks. Incisions were made in their flesh, in which redhot iron was thrust; and one of them, Lallemand, had his eyes torn out and two burning coals fixed in the bleeding sockets. The Christian Indians, attempting to rescue their apostles, were defeated. One of the chiefs counselled retreat; but another nobly made answer, "What! shall we abandon these kind teachers, who have perilled their lives in our behalf? Their desire for our salvation will be the cause of their death. There is now no time for their escape through the snow. Let us die with them and bear them company to heaven." This was the declaration of a Huron chief, uttered centuries ago in the teeth of a victorious majority — a declaration which raises him in true heroism far above those *quasi* Catholics of our own day who attempt to conciliate by compromising the known truth. If ever trials of life and death should come again for the church in America, may there be found a laity to say with the Huron chief of the priest-

hood, "Let us die with them and bear them company to heaven." *

It would be impossible to particularize the other martyrdoms which are on record as occurring in the north and west in the early Indian wars.

The massacre of the Christian neophytes, including Fathers Du Poisson and Sorel, by the Natchez tribe, 1729, was almost equal in atrocity to the Iroquois martyrdom. The memory of these illustrious martyrs dwells upon the Mississippi as that of Lallemand at the Sault, of Jogues in the valley of the Mohawk, and Rasles on the Penobscot River. No American Catholic can ever behold without admiration those scenes of true glory, nor hear even their names mentioned without emotion.

Shall I seek to name the chief apostles of Indian nations — Jogues and Le Moyne of the Iroquois; the martyrs I have just mentioned among the Hurons; Allouez, the apostle of Lake Superior; Granier of the Illinois; Marquette of Michigan; Gravier of the Miamis; Guignas of Wisconsin; Boullanger of the Choctaws; De Guyenne of the Alabamas; White of the Susquehannas; Rasles of the Abnakis; and Marest of Labrador? Some others, equal in services and in sufferings, might be called up; but these will suffice as representatives of the Jesuits in America. From the beginning of the seventeenth century till the suppression of that illustrious order,

* For an illustration of the effects of the missions on the Indian females, see Appendix No. VII.

it gave to America the most learned, intrepid, pious, and laborious body of pioneers and teachers that ever stood on the soil of this continent. I will go further. I will say, that, in the whole history of Christian missions, there is not to be found a class of apostles superior in the main to the first American Jesuits.

In Lower Canada their missions were most numerous; in Upper Canada they had fifteen fathers; in the Illinois country three; in Arkansas, Wisconsin, Alabama, and Carolina, one each; in Louisiana, some six or ten; in all, before the suppression, probably fifty fixed missions, with central points in Acadia, at Quebec, Three Rivers, Detroit, Mackinac, Kaskaskia, St. Louis, Natchez, and New Orleans. Throughout all this immense region, from gulf to gulf, opportunities of conversion were offered to all the barbarous native nations long before a Protestant preacher had ventured a hundred miles from any Dutch or English fortress on a similar errand. When at length the French infidels triumphed over the Jesuits, in 1763, the missions of North America lost their best supplies. It is very true that others were not wanting to take their place; but none had equal success. After the happy restoration by Pope Pius VII., the Jesuits again appeared in Canada, on the Penobscot, at the Sault Ste. Marie, and beyond the Rocky Mountains. In those far regions Fathers De Smet, Accolti, and Barraga, our own contemporaries, have proved themselves not unworthy of the traditions of their order.

Among the efforts of our missionaries for Indian civilization I have placed first their religious services, because these almost equally benefit the individual, the family, and society at large. To comprehend their real value, we must imagine what was the superstition they had to displace. The belief in *manitous*, or spirits, inhabiting animals and protecting or cursing men, was general throughout North America; human sacrifices were also general; the power of the medicine men was arbitrary for life or death; polygamy prevailed among the Illinois; and indiscriminate intercourse, to some extent, among all the tribes. It was a superstition without mercy, without morality, without remorse; under its sway no mental or social culture was possible. Against this terrible barbarism Spain and France, north and south, put forth their power and their missionaries; and the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, the prairies of Illinois and the borders of the great lakes, in one short century, were in a fair way of witnessing a permanent Indian civilization.

To say that all attempts at civilization must begin with a religion, true or false, is to say, in other words, that the brain and heart are the seats of life and sense. Our Catholic missionaries, without an exception, began with the head and heart of the Indian. Catechetical instruction, by words, signs, writings, and pictures, was in every instance the first undertaking of the black robe. Baptism was not conferred but with great care and after long

probation : it was given to adults on, among other conditions, that of being immediately followed by matrimony — thus laying the sacred foundations of the family institute. Penance supervised and conducted the moral progress of the baptized at regular intervals. Without this sacrament of revision and of reunion, it seems to be morally impossible that a pagan people could be confirmed in their new Christianity or conducted steadily by its spirit. My first inference, then, is this — that the Catholic system and discipline was the best suited to convert the Indian nations.

Not only the spirit, but also the forms of our discipline, appear to me indispensable to this end. Fervid extempore appeals from the altar were more likely to affect a nation of orators than the cold and formal essays of the sectarian ministers. If oratory failed, the Indian could be taken by the eye ; to which sense the pictures of saints, the lights upon the altar, the sacred vessels glistening like stars in the darkened chapel, all addressed themselves. The eye is ever the sense most powerful in savages. Many tribes, though not all, were likewise fond of music. The Hurons delighted in music, the Ottawas did not ; the same difference existed between the Algonquins and the Iroquois. Now, those nations most partial to music were soonest converted and easiest confirmed. Whole Indian congregations sung aloud the responses at certain parts of the mass ; and their hymns and dances in honor of the Blessed Virgin are mentioned by every mis-

sionary. The beating of the breast, the ringing of the bell, and the ascent of the incense, all had charms and attractions for these simple-hearted catechumens. I know that some writers pretend to condemn such display as inconsistent with the simplicity of the worship due to God from his creatures; as if the incense the Almighty made was too precious for its Maker, or the gold he scattered through the earth too bright to adorn the temples of the Scatterer! The same objection was made of old to Magdalen's precious ointment, and might be still more strongly made against the divine Architect's plan, of which David was but the undertaker, and Solomon the builder.

Within the mission, within the breast of the believer, the new life of civilization began; but there it did not end. Every wigwam chapel gathered its colony; the Catholic principle was fatal to the nomadic looseness of life; the mission always matured into a village. The progress indeed was slow at first, as must be every progress from barbarism upwards; as was Roman, Gothic, Celtic, and Norman progress. But we have every right to assume, from what progress was made while the Catholic mission flourished, that both the individual and the family would have been reclaimed, and the new Indian society gradually developed, had time enough been granted. One of our statesmen, speaking of the remains of those missions, is induced to say that much was due to French courtesy and sobriety, "and much more, perhaps, to the influence of a religion which,

though often calumniated, exercises a dominion over the minds of untutored savages far more powerful and far more salutary than has hitherto resulted from the influence of any other." *

Every Catholic missionary set out with the resolution to learn the native language. At Quebec and at New Orleans there were schools where Indian languages were taught to Europeans. Father Chamount wrote a Huron, Father Bruyas an Iroquois, dictionary; Father Gravier did likewise for the Illinois, Father White for the Susquehannas, and Father Rasles for the Abnakis. These and other fathers translated into the several languages of the nations among which they resided various catechisms, portions of Scripture, lives of Christ, and other elementary treatises. They were thus laying the broad foundations of a living Indian literature, which must in time have become a valuable element in the work of aboriginal training. Except symbolic signs, these people had no character; the missionaries alone labored to supply this void, in the manner most natural and most agreeable to men jealous of their race. While translating Catholic literature into Indian languages, they at the same time collected not only the grammar of Indian tongues, but innumerable native traditions; which collections, at this day, are the most valuable part of all we possess concerning the red race of America. Had the Indian civilization gone on,

* Hon. J. K. Paulding, Atlantic Souvenir for 1831.

how much more valuable would it be to them to have the traditions of their fathers in the language of their fathers, than to be obliged wholly to translate their ideas into a foreign tongue!

As travellers and experimentalists, the services of our missionaries to Indian civilization are respectable. They were the first explorers of the northern lakes and rivers, and the first to descend the Mississippi and to ascend the Missouri. I can but indicate to you their labors in that region.

Undeterred by the fate of Brœbeuf and Lallemand, other missionaries made their way to Lake Huron; and in 1665 one of them, Father Allouez, explored Lake Superior in a canoe, and founded a mission on its banks called St. Esprit. A mission also grew up at the Sault Ste. Marie, from which voyages and journeys of discovery were made in every direction. In 1673 Fathers Marquette and Dablon, of the Lake Superior mission, hearing of a great river to the west, made their way to Green Bay, ascended the Fox River, travelled by land to the Wisconsin, and, following its course, on the 17th of June discovered the Upper Mississippi, as De Soto one hundred and thirty years before had discovered the Lower Mississippi. The Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, and the Illinois Rivers were also explored by Father Marquette, who has been called, and well deserves to be called, "the father of the west." The last scene of this good man's life was in keeping with all the rest. Feeling that his hour was come, he built an altar of turf on the shores of Lake

Michigan; and after offering the holy sacrifice of the mass, he said to his Indian congregation, "Leave me alone for half an hour." They withdrew like obedient children, and, after the half hour elapsed, returned and found him dead before the altar, a holy joy upon his face, his arms crossed upon his breast. Thus Father Marquette departed to God from the depths of that wilderness which for the glory and increase of Christianity he was the first to traverse and describe. "The west," says Bancroft, "will build his monument." It is to be hoped so, for the west's own honor.

Every such exploration as Marquette's (and there were others of almost equal importance) was followed by a map and a memoir, describing the physical geography of the country. Being, besides, men of some science, and quick observers, the missionaries made several useful discoveries, and introduced many improvements. They first made wine from the native grape, wax (for candles) from the wild laurel, and incense from the gum tree.* They drew attention to the cotton plant and the mulberry tree of the Mississippi valley; they introduced the sugar cane from their gardens in New Orleans; they first planted the peach in Illinois; and were the first to introduce wheat and the plough into the prairies. The aborigines had habitually planted their maize in holes made with a dibble; but the Jesuits taught them better. If, as has been said, "a plough proper

* Kip's Jesuits in America.

in a field arable" be the noblest escutcheon, then is it theirs; if

> "In ancient days the sacred plough employed
> The kings and awful fathers of mankind,"

a share of the same awe and honor belongs to the early Catholic missionaries. They pointed out the locality of many minerals; they were the first to work the copper mines of Lake Superior for ornaments for the altars at the Sault; and the first to acquaint New York of the existence of her own salt springs.*

About this latter discovery there is an anecdote worth repeating. When Father Simon le Moyne communicated the fact to his Dutch correspondent, Dominie Megapolensis, the cautious dominie, in laying it before "the classis of New Amsterdam," expresses himself in great doubt "whether this information be true, or whether *it be a Jesuit lie.*" It turned out to be quite true, as the annual revenues of New York State can testify. Of many another Jesuit discovery we may say with confidence that it was just as true as that there is salt at Syracuse.

Dr. Kip, in his publication of Jesuit letters, seems to think the good immediate effects of their missions (which he admits) were not very lasting. They were not, indeed, where the English had the power to counteract; as when in this state, a little over a

* Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, p. 227.

century ago, they executed Father John Ury on a trumped-up charge of plotting with the negroes. But where that power was not absolute, as in Lower Canada by treaty, or in the west from its distance, the missions never wholly decayed. According to a parliamentary paper of the session of 1834, there were ten thousand Christian Indians in Lower Canada; in the upper province there may be half as many; on the Penobscot and in the eastern British provinces, say five thousand Christian Indians; on Lake Superior Bishop Barraga counts five thousand; in California, in 1833, Bacholot found twenty thousand under the Franciscan fathers; Father de Smet and his coadjutors count in the far west several thousands; in Mexico there are four millions of pure Indians and two millions of mixed race; in all, north of the isthmus, there may be seven millions of the pure or mixed descendants of the aborigines who are Catholic Christians and have learned from Catholicity the first lessons of civilization. It is to be regretted there are not many millions more; but, all things considered, it is well there are so many.*

I turn now to the Protestant attempts; and these are so few and simple that they will be easily told. The most respectable was the attempt made by "the apostle Eliot," as he is called, among the Massachu-

* "Within the territory of the United States, in 1853, there were but one hundred and eighty thousand east of the Mississippi, and two hundred and twenty thousand west of it." — *Report of Secretary of the Interior for* 1853.

setts Indians about the year 1640, and from that time till his death. I have no desire to deny his zeal, his learning, or his sincerity. All that is necessary is to state the fact mentioned by his early biographer, who tells us he extended his labors from Boston "even to Cape Cod." He gathered several neophytes at Natick, and translated the Bible into the Narragansett tongue; but by the time he had done, there were no Narragansetts to read it. The success of Brainerd at Stockbridge was not so short-lived; but it also has passed away. When Father Rasles was on the Kennebec, the Rev. Richard Baxter settled in his neighborhood and opened an Indian free school there. On being invited to a discussion of doctrines he left, and did not again return to his "mission." His discomfiture is told with natural complacency by the veteran Jesuit, who spent thirty-seven years of his life in the wilderness, and laid down his mission only with his life. When, in 1703, Governor Dudley, of Boston, offered to rebuild the church of the Abnakis burned by the Puritans, on condition he was to send them a minister, the Indian deputy replied by a parallel, in which he said, "When you first came hither you saw me a long time before the French governors; but neither those who preceded you nor your ministers have spoken to me of prayer or the Great Spirit. You have seen my furs, my skins of the beaver and the elk, and it is about these only you have thought;" and much more to the same effect. On the contrary, he added, the French black robe "hardly deigned to

look at his furs," but spoke to him at once "of the Great Spirit, of paradise, of hell, and of the prayer." Equally acute was the answer of Red Jacket to the missionary who told the Senecas all his religion was in the Bible: "Brother," said he, "you say all good is in the book; it is well. Go back to your own people at Buffalo Creek; they have the good book; when they become all good you can return to us, and we will hear you talk more of the Bible." Except their partial success among the remains of the Oneidas, I know no Methodist mission in the older states which can now show any considerable congregation.

In the year of our Lord 1725, the celebrated Berkeley, Dean of Derry, pleaded the cause of the Indian race so forcibly, that, at the table of Pope the poet, Swift and others started up, exclaiming, "Let us go! let us go!" They did not go, however; but Berkeley did. He sailed to the colonies in 1729, on the faith of a grant of twenty thousand pounds, with which he was to found an Indian college in Bermuda. But the money was never paid over, the college never founded; and Dr. Berkeley, after three years spent at Newport, returned to his learned friends and an Irish mitre, leaving the red race to Providence. This was, we believe, the only project ever submitted to the British government for aid to convert our Indians. Their treatment of Dean Berkeley, compared to the Spanish government's uniform attention to Las Casas, or the French government's aid to the Canadian misssionaries,

does deep dishonor to England. A day will come when history will make her feel it.

In comparatively recent times, especially by the Methodist sect, missionaries have gone among the Indians with occasional success ; but no results like Caugnawauga, St. Regis, the Sault, or the Oregon missions have at any time been attained by any of the sects. Few or none — I do not know one — of the sectarian missionaries, died in the American forest. In this there is a marked difference between them and the Catholics, who almost always died in harness. It is quite common to meet obituaries of Jesuits who had spent from thirty to fifty years in the wilderness, and died at patriarchal ages, in the midst of their neophytes. Father Chamount, already mentioned, lived over fifty years among the Hurons ; Bishop Las Casas, over sixty among the various tribes of Central America and New Spain ; Williamson, in his History of Maine, speaks of " Mr. Manach, a French priest, who had lived among the Micmacs forty years or more prior to 1763 ; " Father Rasles had spent some thirty-five years with his beloved Abnakis.* Sometimes members of the same family have lived for years without once meeting, as

* It is to be wished that the interesting missions in Maine, both by the fathers last mentioned and by P. P. Vincent, and Jaques Bigot and M. Thury, were made the subject of detailed inquiry. In no part of the new world do the Jesuits appear to more advantage.

[After the above note was written, we learned with sincere pleasure that Mr. John Gilmary Shea had a work in the press, in which the American missions — including, of course, those of Maine — will be treated of very fully.]

the three Lallemands, the two Mambres, the two Bigots, and the two Le Moynes. Many a noble house in Europe might almost have forgotten that it had such sons, when some of those "edifying letters," now so precious to our history, would find their way to the parental roof. The very names of the writers would then sound strangely in the homes of their fathers, and a new generation would ask, in wonder, the date of their departure from France or Spain.

Let me not be thought to overstate the results of the Catholic missions among the red men. I argue only that systematic attempts were made. I full well know that barbarian life will not yield up its habits in one, nor two, nor three generations. I know, also, there were many special impediments in the way of the first apostles to the Americans. France and Spain were unfortunately at war the greater part of the period I have been describing. They were not only at war with each other, but at feud with Rome. During the entire reign of Louis XIV. no French bishop visited the chair of Peter. Under the attractive or repulsive action of Protestantism, Catholic states were becoming less Catholic up to the hour of the French revolution. Moreover, on this continent, the captains of those powers and of England did not hesitate to employ the Indian in war on his own conditions. The expulsion of the French from Canada in 1760, the suppression of the Jesuits in France in 1763, and their Roman suppression ten years later, were so many obstacles

to a systematic and established success at the north.* But a great and generous beginning had been made from Canada to Mexico. A Protestant tourist in Canada, speaking of the Jesuits before the suppression, says, "They do not care to become preachers to a congregation in the town or country, but leave those places, together with the emoluments arising from them, to the (secular) priests. All their business here is to convert the heathen; and with that view their missionaries are scattered over every part of the country. Near every town and village peopled by converted Indians are one or two Jesuits, who take great care that they may not return to paganism, but live as Christians ought to do."† "Simply to call these people religious," says Mr. Irving of certain Rocky Mountain Indians, "would convey but a faint idea of the deep hue of piety and devotion which pervades the whole of their conduct. They are more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages."‡ Speaking of those of New Spain, Baron Von Humboldt says, "The Indians of the missions have the manners of our peasants."§ Even when the missions were no longer supplied with priests, the relics and tradi-

* The Bishop of Quebec employed Priests of the Mission to supply the place of the Jesuits, by whom the good light was still kept burning at Tadousac, Lorette, Becaucourt, St. Francois, Sault St. Louis, &c. The return of the black robes was, however, a godsend to the poor natives, who have ever since been chiefly attended by them.

† See Appendix No. V. for other testimony to the same effect.

‡ Irving's Adventures of Bonneville.

§ Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 235.

tions of Christianity were fondly cherished. John Wesley found the doctrine of the Trinity of the Godhead among the Chicasaws; and three several times tribes from Oregon despatched messengers to St. Louis, to ask their American father to provide them with "black robes." In some tribes this spirit seems to have been imperishable; others, when the clergy were no longer with them, returned to their idols — a thing hardly to be wondered at.

I have thus maintained my second proposition. I have shown you that the greatest names of modern Catholicity are bound up in the story of the Indian race. I have mentioned the missions of the Jesuits, Dominicans, Carthusians, Franciscans, Recollets, and Vincentians. I might almost assert that every Catholic order is represented in the history of this continent. Why be at war with history? The Jesuits are there, in the outer gate of all our chronicles. Speak them civilly as you pass on. For us, cold compliments are not enough. Our blood warms at witnessing their heroic virtue, and we are compelled to raise our voices in evidence of our homage. They were the first to put the forest brambles by; they were the first to cross the thresholds of the wigwams of every native tribe; they first planted the cross in the wilderness, and shed their blood cheerfully at its base. Shall we not study their lives and recall their words? Shall we not figure them on canvas and carve them in marble? Shall we not sing the song of their triumph, and teach it to our children's children, until the re-

motest generation? We have never had cause to be ashamed of them; and God grant they may have none to be ashamed of us. I ask again of those not with us, Why be at war with history? The Jesuit is in the gate, and you can no more enter the first chapter of your own chronicles without meeting him there than you can enter Quebec in time of war without giving the sentry the countersign.

IV.—THE CATHOLICS AND THE REVOLUTION.

We are now to speak of the revolution which took place in British America, and of how far Catholic blood, talent, and treasure contributed to the establishment of the republic. A previous, necessary question is, the condition of the colonies out of which the republic was erected.

French colonies were established at Quebec in 1608, on the Penobscot in 1631, at "the Sault" and at Kaskaskia about 1670, and at New Orleans so late as 1717. The Spanish settlement of St. Augustine, in Florida, dates from 1565, and makes that town the oldest in our republic. In the year 1605, English Episcopalians settled at Jamestown; in 1620, the Puritans landed at Plymouth; in 1682, the Quakers founded Philadelphia; in 1661, the Huguenots were settled in Carolina; in 1729, the Irish Presbyterians settled on the Merrimac; and in 1732, Oglethorpe emigrated to Georgia. The "Dutch Reformed" sect had settled on the Hudson in 1610, and English and Irish Catholics on the Chesapeake in 1634.

We have thus side by side, not only New France and New England, New Netherlands and New Spain,

but the Protestant and Catholic religions, represented in contemporaneous colonies, three thousand miles removed from the first sees and schools of both religions. The relative power of these colonies, and the gradual spread of British sovereignty over all the territory destined to form the first United States, raises that previous question of which I have just spoken.

The North American colonies of France and Spain were not at any time largely supplied with emigrants from the parent countries. At the first capitulation of Quebec, a century after its settlement, "two ships" were considered enough to transport its inhabitants out of Canada. Till this day the Americans of Spanish origin, north of the isthmus, (including Cuba,) do not number above four millions. In Louisiana, the descendants of its founders did not exceed thirty thousand at the beginning of the present century. The colony of Maryland had a majority of Catholics down to the English revolution of 1688; but as the total did not exceed then twenty-five thousand,* the majority could not amount to a very large number. The Protestant colonies had increased in numbers more rapidly. At Cromwell's death the New England colonies contained fifty thousand inhabitants, and Virginia as many more. How shall we account for this difference? Was England, in the seventeenth

* In 1671 the population was sixteen thousand. Governor Sharpe, in a letter, written in 1758, to the then Lord Baltimore, states that the Catholics were in a majority down to the year 1688.

century, more crowded or more enterprising than France and Spain? Or is it as much the nature of sects to be unsettled, to wander away, to seek new homes, as it is the nature of the church to satisfy the soul, to check worldly ambition, to render the poor patient in the endurance of their lot? Explain it as you will, the fact remains, that the Catholics of Europe were never as eager to emigrate to America as the sectarians were.

Those Catholics who settled in Maryland were chiefly of the better classes in England and Ireland; educated young men, in search of employments; heads of families, in search of cheaper subsistence; men, proud of their ancient faith, who preferred an altar in the desert to a coronet at court; professional or trading men, bound by interest and sympathy to these better classes. They composed a wise and select community worthy of their rich inheritance. One of their earliest legislative acts was "the toleration act of 1649," the first ordinance of its kind known in America, which granted freedom of worship "to all who believed in Jesus Christ." They waged no exterminating wars with the Indians; they had no strong towns; but, scattered along the coasts and river courses, they cultivated their farms, shipped their superfluities, bought, and sold, and built, until in half a century they had increased their numbers a thousand fold.

There was another class of Catholics scattered through the colonies from the first — the Irish polit-

ical offenders, banished after the unsuccessful rising of 1641 and the subsequent Protestant revolution. The statistics of this class it is hopeless to seek. From the state papers of Cromwell's time, there is reason to set them at from fifty to one hundred thousand souls shipped to the West Indies or the continent.* Barbadoes and Jamaica had, perhaps, the larger part. Of the whole, two thirds must have been women and boys, the men capable of bearing arms, having been pressed into the Protector's fleet, or sent to swell the ranks of Austria, or picked up by recruiting agents from other European states.

In estimating exiles of this class as an element of our original population, we must allow for the extraordinary mortality which inevitably befell them. In 1625 we hear that of eighteen hundred convicts shipped to Virginia within the six previous years, at a cost of fifteen thousand pounds, *only one half* remained alive.† In Barbadoes and Jamaica the exiled Irish wasted away, leaving only a scanty posterity in either of those islands.‡ Of the un-

* "The republican commissioners" having recommended, A. D. 1652, "*that Irishwomen* be sold to merchants and transported to Virginia, New England, Jamaica, or other countries," immense numbers were so sent. Sir William Petty mentions six thousand *women* and boys sent to the West Indian islands alone. Henry Cromwell's Irish Correspondence contains many details of *this* undertaking; a contemporary manuscript, in the late Dr. Lingard's possession, gave the total at sixty thousand souls; Bruodin, a contemporary, sets it at one hundred thousand.

† Stith's History of Virginia, p. 167.

‡ Among the gentlemen who formed the council of the governor of

happy females transported to New England, many descendants must remain ; many, perhaps, who hold their heads high, and do not know that their mothers' milk was drawn from that much-enduring race of Celtic islanders.

The English revolution of 1688 was a disastrous event for the Catholic minority in British America. Maryland had enjoyed freedom of worship for half a century ; New York, and the British settlement in Maine, — "the ducal province of Sagadahock," as it was called, — had recently been opened to Catholics by the wisdom of Governor Dongan, himself a Catholic. William Penn, who owed so much to James II., could not refuse to tolerate his patron's creed in Pennsylvania. But this fair prospect was suddenly overclouded. The Prince of Orange landed in England, seized the crown, defeated his father-in-law's forces in Ireland, and carried out what is commonly called "the glorious revolution of 1688." All the colonies felt the reaction. Leisler seized New York under the rallying cry of "No Popery" and "Down with the Jesuits." The colonies, like Massachusetts and Virginia, which had somewhat relaxed the penal code, now increased its penalties. The new charters of William and Mary allowed liberty of conscience "to all Christians *except Papists ;*"* and how savagely these laws

Barbadoes, in 1767, I find the names of Patrick Lynch, Benjamin Malony, and one or two others of Irish origin.

* Acadia, the French Nova Scotia, had been peopled for nearly a century by a simple, pious, pastoral race, when, in 1713, Louis XIV., by the treaty of Utrecht, ceded their country to Queen Anne.

could be enforced may be seen in the melancholy story of the expulsion of the Acadians.

A fate hardly less cruel befell the Catholics of Maryland. The founder of that colony, in whom its proprietorship had been vested by James I., without condition, though well knowing his Catholicity, had voluntarily thrown it open "to all who believed in Jesus Christ." He had even drafted oaths, binding his deputies and their council not to interfere with any man's conscience. The Episcopalian, excluded from New England, had a home in Maryland and a seat in its assembly; the Puritan, driven from Virginia, sat at the same council board with the Episcopalian.* This constitution worked

* "It is certainly very honorable to the liberality and public spirit of THE PROPRIETARY that he should have introduced into his fundamental policy the doctrine of general toleration and equality among Christian sects, (for he does not appear to have gone further,) and have thus given the earliest example of a legislator inviting his subjects to the free indulgence of religious opinion. This was anterior to the settlement of Rhode Island, and *therefore merits the enviable rank of being the first recognition* among the colonists of the glorious and indefeasible rights of conscience." — *Story's Com. on Constitution*, book i. ch. ix. sec. 106.

"Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state." — *Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 244. A full account of the rise and progress of religious toleration in the colonies and states is very desirable.

well until the English revolution had its proscriptive parody in all the provinces. A rising of the Protestant portion of the colony anticipated an order from Lord Baltimore in England to acknowledge the new sovereigns. Those who originated the rising called a convention, and sent an address to King William, full of accusations of Lord Baltimore, and praying him to send them a royal governor. A royal governor was sent; and, in 1692, an assembly convened by this governor established the church of England as the legal religion of the province, assessed the counties for church rates and ministers' money, and declared Catholics incapable of holding office. In this and the next reign severer penalties were inflicted; and, that they might not increase from without, laws forbidding Catholics to emigrate to the colony were periodically reënacted.* In no part of British America, while it remained British,

* In 1704 an act entitled "An Act to prevent the Growth of Popery within this Province" passed.

In 1707 another act was passed, suspending some of its provisions until her majesty's pleasure was signified therein.

And in 1718 the act of the Parliament of Great Britain, passed in the eleventh and twelfth years of William III., entitled "An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery," was declared by act of general assembly of the province to be in force in all its provisions in the province.

Sec. 1 provides a reward of one hundred pounds to any one who shall "*apprehend and take*" a Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, and prosecute him "until convicted of saying mass, or of exercising any other part of the office or function of a Popish bishop or priest."

Sec. 3 inflicts *perpetual imprisonment* on any Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit that shall say mass or exercise any function proper to such bishop, priest, or Jesuit; or on any person professing the Catholic religion who shall keep school, or educate, or govern, or board any youth.

need we expect to find any better treatment for Catholics. Neither can we suppose those who did remain were of any account in the great mass of France and England, of which this continent was partly the spoil, and often the theatre, from the reign of William III. to that of George III. During the greater part of that interval the two powers were at war by sea and land; and the names of Louisburg, Quebec, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry, and Fort du Quesne are the popular remembrancers in America of their famous struggle for supremacy. When, at the peace of Paris, (1763,) the French gave up Canada to England, it might reasonably enough have been inferred that the hopes of Catholicity in North America were extinguished. The old colonies had continued unchangeable in their exclusiveness. The governor and council of Pennsylvania had prohibited Catholic worship in 1734 and 1736; in 1740, Georgia had prohibited Catholics settling within her borders; in 1746, Father John Ury was executed in New York for the pretended "negro plot" to burn the city, the more telling charge being mixed up with it, that he was a Catholic priest. Under such

Sec. 4. That if any Papist youth shall not, within six months after he attains his majority, take certain oaths prescribed, (oaths inconsistent with the faith of Romanists,) he shall be incapable of taking lands by descent, and his next of kin being a Protestant, shall succeed to them; that any person professing the Roman Catholic faith shall be incompetent to purchase lands.

Sec. 6. Any person sending his child abroad to be educated in the Romish faith should forfeit one hundred pounds.

a conjunction of disasters, the prospects of the American church seemed utterly hopeless; yet, at that very hour, the founder and some of the members of her first hierarchy were already born. Out of such profound darkness the dawn was about to break, and the enemy which had conspired against God and his Christ to be scattered.

Let us consider a moment, before opening this brighter prospect, the probable result of the long interval of persecution we have described. In an old Catholic country like Ireland, it might have confirmed rather than conquered the faithful; but here all was new and untried. The colonies were a mere vicariate of the vicar apostolic of London, himself an untolerated character. Churches there were none; missionaries next to none. Little wonder if, even in Maryland, the Catholics were counted but as *one thirteenth* of the whole people in 1758; or if, in 1785, our first bishop set down all the known Catholics in the old thirteen states at only thirty thousand.* What had become of the descendants of the old Catholic emigrants? What *could* have become of whole generations, without baptism, without the catechism, and without the sacraments? When we meet such *Protestant* names as Farleys and Sullivans at the east; McKeans and McDonoughs on the Delaware; Lynches, Rutledges, and Moores in the south, — it needs no prophet to tell us that there must be apostasy somewhere among them.

* This was Bishop Carroll's calculation; but we have always thought fifty thousand would be nearer the mark.

The popular discussions preparatory to the revolution were indirectly serviceable to the Catholic cause. Men began to be ashamed of bigotry when George III. personated it. As the project of resistance to his power became more definite, so did this other sentiment increase and grow strong. There were still some Catholics of mark in the colonies; it was desirable that Canada should be brought into the confederacy; very desirable that a French alliance could be brought about. In individual minds nobler sentiments prevailed; but with the mass of American Protestants, toleration was the child of state policy. In 1763 the cross of St. Mary's was raised in Philadelphia, and in 1770 St. Peter's Church was opened in Baltimore. When the Continental Congress met in 1775, it pronounced for the broadest toleration, although there was not wanting a party who still cherished the worst spirit of the penal times.

The Catholic colonists may be divided at this period into three classes — the landed proprietors, like the Carroll family; the merchants, like the Moylans and Fitzsimonses of Philadelphia;† and "the redemptioners," or poor emigrants, whose

* In 1774, at the dawn of the revolution, there were but sixteen missionaries in Maryland and Pennsylvania — all Jesuits. The "chapels" had been all in private houses, as in England, until the public opening of the churches mentioned in the text.

† In the famous Philadelphia contribution, to supply the camp at Valley Forge, I find the names of Delany and Shea for one thousand pounds each, John Mease for four thousand pounds, and James Mease for five thousand pounds. They were Catholic merchants.

services were sold for a term of years, to pay for their passage out.

If we are to judge by proper names, the rank and file of the continental army was largely recruited from the redemptioners.* As so many of them inhabited the seaports, the navy was also their debtor, the more so that some of the first commanders were themselves Irish Catholics. The first sea fight of the war (what Mr. Fennimore Cooper calls "the Lexington of the seas") was fought under a Catholic commander. I allude to the affair of May 11, 1775, in Machias Bay, where Jeremiah O'Brien and his brothers captured the British store ships Margaretta and Tapnaquish. A better known instance is that of the first commodore of the United States, John Barry, "who died at the head of the service" in 1803. He was born on the sea shore of Wexford county, in Ireland, in 1745; in April, 1776, he was commissioned by Congress. With his boats in the Delaware, as well as by the capture of the Edward, the Atalanta, and Trespassa at sea, and his disciplinary efforts, he won the proud title of "father of the American navy." With him Dale, Decatur, Murray, and Stewart served their apprenticeship of glory. Among his men, tradition counts a large number who were natives of the same island with their commander.

In the annals of war, only the chiefs can be dis-

* For example, in the list of the Bedford (N. H.) company at Bunker's Hill we find the names O'Neal, O'Fling, Murphy, Moore, Sullivan, Calahan, &c.

tinguished. Of the officers of the army let me specially mention one — General Stephen Moylan, of Pennsylvania. Stephen Moylan was a native of Cork, and brother to the Roman Catholic bishop of that diocese. At Cambridge he was commissary general and aid-de-camp to Washington; afterwards he was transferred to command the dragoons, in which position he was in every important engagement during the war. Wherever you find Anthony Wayne, you find Stephen Moylan — at Stony Point, at Bergen Neck, on the Delaware, and at Savannah. After the surrender of Yorktown, "the remnant of Moylan's dragoons" returned to their homes.

Speaking of the opposition made in the first Congress to the claims of Catholics, the biographer of General Reed remarks, "And this was at a time when Colonel Moylan and others of the most meritorious officers of the army were Roman Catholics;" at a time also, it may be added, when the largest proprietor in that Congress, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, had pledged to the declaration of independence his life and fortune, and when his colleague, William Paca, an Italian Catholic by descent, had been found equally zealous in the common cause. The important part borne by the Carroll family in the revolution was not confined altogether to "the signer." Daniel Carroll, his cousin, was one of the most strenuous advocates of independence. His name stands as one of the authors of the federal constitution: on what was once his farm, by the Potomac, the national Capitol now stands. The broth-

er of this gentleman, the Rev. John Carroll, of the order of Jesuits, afterwards first Bishop of Baltimore, was employed on a delicate diplomatic mission by the first Congress. In the winter of 1775, Washington having advised an invasion of Canada, the army, in two divisions, marched into that province, gained some successes, were repulsed at Quebec, and wintered at Montreal. The following spring Congress resolved on sending a diplomatic embassy to the Canadians, composed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, Charles Carroll, and the Rev. John Carroll. They reached Montreal by the 1st of May, but effected little, their mission being mainly defeated by the anti-Catholic conduct of certain American officers and the party in Congress already alluded to.

In his instructions to Schuyler, General Washington had wisely pointed out "that the province could only be secured by laying hold of the affections of the people and engaging them heartily in the common cause." * In the same spirit, Montgomery, who replaced Schuyler, on entering Canada in November, 1775, obtained peaceable possession of Montreal "after engaging to allow the Canadians their own laws, *the free exercise of their religion*, and the privilege of governing themselves." After Montgomery's death, Chief Justice Marshall observes that "the priests were very injudiciously neglected," and that "even General Arnold was disposed to think himself in the company of our enemy." †

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 49.
† Ibid., p. 60.

Before this change, the same authority adds that the Canadians "gave essential aid to the Americans and facilitated their march through that province." * A still worse blunder was committed by Congress in its "Address to the People of Great Britain," wherein it stigmatized Lord North for establishing in Canada "a religion which had deluged their island in blood, and diffused impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and *rebellion* through every part of the world." This precious piece of rhetoric was speedily translated and diffused among the Canadians by British agents, and not less than the untimely death of Montgomery prevented them from being drawn into the general confederacy of the colonies.

At another point of danger the friendly influence of Canadian Catholics was hardly less desirable. In following the warlike movements along the Atlantic coast, the eye of the student must sometimes be lifted to glance westward towards the line of the lakes and across the Indian country on the Wabash and Mississippi. It will be arrested for a moment at the old Canadian posts, Vincennes and Kaskaskia. There we find Father Gibault, vicar general of the Bishop of Quebec, blessing the arms of French volunteers in the American cause, administering the oath of allegiance to the Congress, in his own church, and enlisting the Christian Indians upon the same side. "There is no doubt," says the Bishop of Louisville, "that the efforts of this good priest saved

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 50.

the effusion of much blood, and facilitated our conquests in the north-west." * The invariable friendship of the first American governors of that region, from George Rogers Clarke to Lewis Cass, for our missionaries, is a proof that their public services were considered deserving of courteous acknowledgment — the only recompense they ever accepted.

Yet it is certain that in the first years of the contest the old colonial bigotry prevailed in nearly all its force. In March, 1777, when the colony of New York met in convention at Kingston, on the Hudson, to frame a new constitution, Mr. John Jay moved, in amendment of the section granting "free toleration of religious profession and worship," to add, "except to the professors of the religion of the church of Rome," adding the usual tirade about "the dangerous and damnable doctrines" of absolution from sin and from allegiance to the state. A long debate took place on this motion, which was finally lost by nineteen nays to eleven yeas. A substitute motion of Mr. Morris was carried by the same numbers, in these words: "Provided that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the state." † But a previous proviso, re-

* Dr. Spalding's Life of Bishop Flaget, p. 43, where Dillon's History of Indiana, vol. i., is quoted as authority for the patriotic efforts of Father Gibault.

† Bishop Bayley's History of the Church in New York; Appendix No. III.

quiring applicants for naturalization "to abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, priest, potentate, and state, in all matters ecclesiastical and civil," had been ingrafted in the state constitution, and remained part of it till repealed by the "Act concerning Oaths," passed in 1801. The first important advance in toleration was, in truth, directly consequent on the French alliance of 1778. When D'Estaing's fleet entered Newport Harbor, Rhode Island abolished its penal laws. Every French ship and regiment had its chaplain, and in many states they were the first who offered the holy sacrifice since the times of the Indian missionaries. In New York the Abbe La Motte, in Newport the Abbe Robin, and in Boston the Abbe La Poitre, were the first Catholic priests the revolutionary generation had seen. As the good understanding between the two countries continued, so did the spirit of toleration increase. During the last years of the war, the Catholics of Boston were allowed the use of a school house in School Street, while those of New York assembled above a carpenter's shop in Barclay Street. After the war, the Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, previously a chaplain in the French fleet, settled at New York, and was the first who gathered together a permanent congregation in that city.

Having mentioned the colonial Catholics who took a leading part in the revolution, it would be unpardonable to overlook their foreign-born co-religionists who fought on the same side. Whatever

may have been the practice of the Frenchmen of that age, they belonged to a Catholic nation, and wore the uniform of a prince whose pride was to be called "the eldest son of the church." We cannot forget that the proud names, De Montmorenci, De Lausun, De Chastelleaux, De Lafayette, dignify not only the muster roll of the revolution, but also the registry of our church; neither can we forget that they were accompanied in arms by the Counts Dillon, McMahon, and Roche-Fermoy, descendants of Irish Catholic fugitives for conscience' sake, long settled in France;* nor that "the orthodox kingdom of Poland" was represented here by her illustrious soldier, Thaddeus Kosciusko. On the other side, what do we see? The leading Protestant power of the world sending out army after army to crush your rising liberties. This a Protestant revolution! Truly it was, just so far as Protestant oppression and Protestant hostility could give it that character.

Catholic France supplied to the cause of the American revolution ten thousand men, and three hundred millions of dollars. All the military operations of the last three years of the war depended as much on these resources as on the continental army. Their burden to France we can estimate; their value to America we can conjecture. In the operations on Rhode Island, Long Island, and the

* I am informed, by a friend learned in these matters, that the whole Irish brigade in the service of France volunteered for the American service, but were not sent out, war not being then declared.

Delaware, the French fleet coöperated with the American army. Cornwallis, once hemmed in between the two forces, was compelled to capitulate. The double rank of officers, one French, the other American, between whom he marched out of Yorktown, is a true representation of the last campaigns of the war. A most important arm of the service was particularly indebted to the French alliance; that is, the engineers and artillery. Whoever will compare the Canada campaign, which "failed for want of engineers," to the Jersey campaigns, "in which the French officers rendered such service," will see the value of this accession. To crown all, there was the moral influence of having a first-rate power embarked in an undecided cause, of having a European sovereign of the highest rank as the ally of obscure colonies, as yet unknown, even by name, to the political world. This was a great gain; and it was derived from a Catholic quarter.

Let me be fairly understood. I do not say that Catholics, native or foreign, *made* the revolution. I did not undertake to prove that. I contend only that a large share of Catholic blood, talent, and treasure was contributed to your independence. This has been proved, and more than this; for it is clear from the facts cited that the resident Catholics owed the colonies no obligation before 1775; that, on the contrary, the sects had invariably persecuted them from the reign of William III. to the reign

of George III.; that finally it was the French alliance, as much as a sense of justice in the leading men, which at length insured equal rights to our predecessors. These being the circumstances, how magnanimous was the conduct of the Catholic colonists! how entirely superior to all selfishness! They took thought only of the common cause; they turned their eyes away from their own wrongs, to fix and fasten them on the wrongs of their country. Such patriotism as they displayed, if not proportionate in amount to that of the majority of the revolutionists, was at least equal in its disinterestedness to either Puritan or Virginian heroism. May I add the testimony of the highest authority on this subject? When Washington was first president, he used these words in reply to the "Address of the Roman Catholics of the United States:" "I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed." *

This testimony who shall gainsay? These are the words of a man who never uttered a falsehood; of a patriot the most jealous of making distinctions between citizens; of a witness who had the best opportunity of judging, and who possessed the best

* For the Address and Reply, see Appendix No. VI.

judgment. I could call other witnesses; but Washington's testimony will be admitted as enough. It can stand alone.

I have already shown, on the authority of Chief Justice Marshall, that it is probable Canada might have been one of the original states of the Union but for the impolicy of General Arnold and the bigotry of a portion of the first Congress. How much we have lost or gained by that error is a mere matter of speculation, and we are dealing not with opinions, but with facts. I have called attention to Marshall's testimony, showing what he calls "the favorable disposition of the Canadians" towards the common cause, and to account for the fact why a province peculiarly Catholic was not brought into the confederacy. The truth is, the "old thirteen" were not very anxious to have her, and the Canadians were not slow in discovering their aversion.

On this last proposition I have only to add, that the Catholic colonists were no less zealous for the establishment of the federal constitution than they had been for the expulsion of the English. They desired *unity* not less than *liberty;* and desiring it ardently, they wrought for it untiringly. Among the names with which the constitution was promulgated, few had a more respectable share in its preparation than Thomas Fitzsimon, of Pennsylvania, and Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, a native and a naturalized Catholic. Mr. Fitzsimon, like

most men of his religion in Washington's time, was a federalist, and so adverse to what were called "French principles" that he refused to be made acquainted with some of the Irish democrats who emigrated to this country after 1798. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, a skilful financier, and one of the principal authors of our commercial legislation. In the useful nature of his public services his name ranks with Robert Morris and Jonathan Goodhue, and as such is entitled to be mentioned with respect by our own generation.

We have thus far borne out the argument from the discovery of Columbus to the presidency of Washington. Here I might well dismiss the subject, having proved all I undertook to prove, namely: —

First. — That the discovery and exploration of America were Catholic enterprises, undertaken by Catholics with Catholic motives, and carried out by Catholic coöperation.

Second. — That the only systematic attempts to civilize and Christianize the aborigines were made by Catholic missionaries.

Third. — That the independence of the United States was, in a great degree, established by Catholic blood, talent, and treasure.

But it is necessary for the completeness of the subject, though not for further proof of these propositions, to trace the growth of the church within the republic. The history of seventy years, rapidly

rehearsed, will give us ample cause for encouragement; and when we compare the prospects of our faith to-day with what they were a century ago, we will, I think, find new reasons to be thankful for the impartial guaranties of that admirable constitution under which it is our happiness to live.

V.—THE CHURCH IN THE REPUBLIC.

As one returning to his own country observes with freedom every side of the land, until, drawing near his birthplace, he becomes suddenly silent, so might we, if there were no public obligation to the contrary, prefer to avoid speaking on the growth of the church in this republic. But even a summary like the present, which would stop at the era of our national constitution, must leave much to surmise, and therefore something to censure. I entertain, I trust, due reverence for the pious dead, whether departed yesterday or a thousand years ago — a sentiment which teaches me to render to their virtues even more honor than I would to their persons if they still lived, but which also forbids me to offer the poppies of panegyric on their graves.

There is no subject on which Americans generally are apt to be more eloquent than the growth of their country. It is, indeed, provocative of such outbursts. The amplifying power of words in this case falls short rather than exceeds. We have no terms capable of expressing how much material progress has been made in less than a century.

Thirteen sovereign states converted into thirty-two ; France and Spain removed from the continent ; England tolerated ; savage nations exterminated or transplanted beyond the range of civilized life ; a commerce created, which contends in every sea for the first rank ; three millions become four and twenty ; long iron ways laid down from ocean to ocean ; these are the wonderful material conquests of this republic. It is not possible to exaggerate their greatness, except by attributing to them moral causes which had no share in their success.

It was said of old, empire comes from the North. On this continent it was necessarily so. Just as Europe was about to enter on the great wars of the French revolution, this country started into national life, with a hardy, intrepid, and, for colonies, a compact population of three millions ; while all the other white inhabitants north of the isthmus did not count, taken together, half as many. With double numbers, with the impetus of revolutionary success, with native institutions, the timely growth of the soil and the climate, with northern necessities, with Washington for chief magistrate, the United States began their political career. It is none of my purpose to detail the story of national conquest. I point to the lofty ranges of events, stretching from east to west, from north to south, and, having done so, I entreat the eye to descend a little, and to mark along the habitable line of the mountains, and in the deep valleys opening up the interior, and across the plains that lie between, another institution,

every where present, and every where victorious; I mean the Catholic church.

This institution, like the principles of the American government, preceded by centuries the independence of the country. It however developed itself here coördinately with the republic, and its growth was proportionate from the first to the growth of the state. The only parallel, humanly speaking, to the increase of the American state, is the still greater increase of the American church. And if, in studying the history of the former, we are surprised at the number of wise, gifted, and famous men, crowded into so short a term of years, in the history of the latter, we shall find no scarcity of sanctity, nor of ability, nor of names "not born to die."

In the character of the first archbishop and the first president we find many points of personal resemblance, which we cannot think either trivial or fanciful. Born about the same period in adjoining states, of parents who ranked among the aristocracy of the provinces, each endowed with decided talents for governing himself and others, both were called to high but dissimilar authority at the first commencement of a new state of society. In the wise forethought, the disinterested demeanor, the grave courtesy, and the ardent patriotism of Archbishop Carroll and General Washington there is a striking similarity. To American Catholics, the character of their first chief pastor can never become old, nor tiresome, nor unlovely, any more than the character of Washington can to citizens of all denominations.

John Carroll, third son of Daniel Carroll, an Irish emigrant, was born at Upper Marlboro', Maryland, on the 8th of January, 1735. Sent to Europe to be educated, he studied under the Jesuits of St. Omer's and Liege; was ordained in 1771; was a professor at Liege when his order was suppressed in France, in 1773; spent two years in England, in the family of the disfranchised Catholic peers, Lords Stourton and Arundel; and returned to Maryland just as the revolutionary war broke out. He was then in his fortieth year. His connection with the first Catholic families of Maryland and Virginia, his French urbanity and English experience, gave him a social influence which no previous missionary could expect to exercise. From the first, like all his relatives, he warmly espoused the cause of the colonies against George III., and his private letters to his English friends are often occupied with a zealous but amiable defence of the side he had chosen.* His agency in the Canada mission of 1776 I have treated already in speaking of the revolution, and it is unnecessary to rehearse it here.†

What most concerns us now, is the action taken by the Catholic clergy in America consequent on the revolution. Hitherto they had been under the control of "the vicar apostolic of the London district," who governed them through his vicars. The revolution had hardly closed when, in 1783, they

* Biographical Sketch of Archbishop Carroll, by John Carroll Brent, Esq., pp. 44–46.

† See *ante*, p. 80.

applied to the holy see to give them a new superior, and nominated Dr. Carroll for that dignity. In the next year Pope Pius VI. answered their unanimous application, and confirmed their choice. From 1784 the separate organization of the American church may be dated, as that of the country may be dated from 1776. From 1790, when Dr. Carroll was ordained its first bishop, its more regular government commenced, as that of the country did, with the adoption of the federal constitution, in 1789. Dr. Carroll has left on record, among a list of reasons why the revolution was favorable to the establishment of religion, the four following: —

"I. The leading characters of the first assembly, or congress, were, through principle, opposed to every thing like vexation on the score of religion; and as they were perfectly acquainted with the maxims of the Catholics, they saw the injustice of persecuting them for adhering to their doctrines.

"II. The Catholics evinced a desire, not less ardent than that of the Protestants, to render the provinces independent of the mother country; and it was manifest that, if they joined the common cause and exposed themselves to the common danger, they should be entitled to a participation in the common blessings which crowned their efforts.

"III. France was negotiating an alliance with the United Provinces; and nothing could have retarded the progress of that alliance more effectually than the demonstration of any ill will against the religion which France professed.

"IV. The aid, or at least the neutrality, of Canada was judged necessary for the success of the enterprise of the provinces; and, by placing the Catholics on a level with all other Christians, the Canadians, it was believed, could not but be favorably disposed towards the revolution."

He adds that "it was not till after the war that the good effects of freedom of conscience began to develop themselves." And in a letter to one of his English friends, written in 1783, he says, "An immense field is open to the zeal of apostolic men — universal toleration throughout this immense country, and innumerable Roman Catholics going and ready to go into the new regions bordering on the Mississippi, perhaps the finest in the world, and impatiently clamorous for clergymen to attend them." *

The apostolic men sighed for by the first bishop were soon vouchsafed to him. When we come to make their acquaintance, we are again struck with surprise to find them mostly French. To that illustrious nation it was given to supply a second crop of missionaries to this continent. The revolution which shook down so many noble roofs, and ingulfed so many holy things, in France, flung out upon England and America the choicest spirits of the French church. Strange and wonderful are the decrees of Providence; for who could think that to a Mirabeau or a Danton the Ohio and the Penobscot should be indebted for Christian apostles? Let

* Brent's Sketch of Archbishop Carroll, p. 57.

us select from the west and the east a representative of the latter French missionaries in America, and study them with due attention.

Benedict Joseph Flaget was born in the *commune* of St. Julien, in Auvergne, France, on the 7th of November, 1763. After his studies and ordination he sailed from Bourdeaux for Philadelphia, with the Rev. Messieurs Chicoisneau, David, and Badin, in the year 1792. On reaching Baltimore he was despatched to the distant mission of Vincennes — since the revolution, no longer supplied from Quebec. He crossed the Alleghanies in a wagon, made some stay at Pittsburg, descended the Ohio in a flat boat, and so entered on his labors. For fifty-seven years (from 1792 till 1849) this apostolic man continued his mission in the south-west, as priest, vicar general, and bishop. His early visits usually count by hundreds of miles, and his routes were often known only to himself. Where, in the beginning, he could not find a confessor without undertaking a week's journey, he lived to see two archbishops and eight bishops presiding over a numerous clergy and an innumerable laity. Often his only chancel had been the bower of some tall tree, and his only altar a rock by the wayside. His first congregations were some half-lost Indians, or almost equally neglected French, or a few Irish soldiers from a frontier post, under Clarke or Wayne. It was his lot to live in two ages of the American church. In half a century he had seen many changes in the west, but none so profound nor so important

as he had himself, under God, been instrumental in working.*

A not less amiable representative of the French clergy is found contemporaneously at the east in the person of the Abbe Cheverus, first bishop of Boston, afterwards Cardinal of Bourdeaux. This eminent person, born at Mayenne on the 28th of January, 1768, fled from the irreligious revolution to England. There the invitation of the Abbe Matignon, pastor of Boston, reached him: having accepted it, he reached his future see on the 3d of October, 1796. In 1803 he had the happiness to see the first church consecrated in Boston; and in 1808 Pius VII. raised him to the dignity of bishop. For fifteen years he continued the chief pastor of all the Catholics of New England, until recalled to still higher dignities in his native land. The story of those years can never be fully told. With a zeal that never flagged, this bishop united an humility that never slept. He shrunk from all conversation of himself, and did good always by stealth. On some occasions he was discovered by the sweet odor of his good works. His annual visits to the long shepherdless savages of Maine; his prodigies of charity performed in the alleys of the city during times of pestilence; his heavenly meekness of demeanor on all occasions, — were vividly remembered

* The life of this admirable person — the first bishop of the west — has been beautifully written by his third coadjutor and worthy successor, Bishop Spalding. Louisville: Published by Webb & Levering, 1853.

as long as one of his contemporaries remained in New England.*

While to France belongs the glory of contributing a majority of the most venerable prelates and zealous missionaries to the newly-formed church in this republic, the neighboring state of Belgium has claims on our gratitude hardly less honorable. To her we owe the Badins, De Neckerés, and Nerinxkes among the dead, and their worthy successors among the living. Italy, also, sent her model of a bishop in Dr. Rosati ; Spain, her sainted Varella ; while from Russia we derived Father Demetrius Gallitzin, prince and priest. In proportion to their numbers, the native Catholics always contributed their representative share to the councils of the church, such as Drs. Neale and Eccleston, Archbishops of Baltimore, and the two Bishops Fenwick, who left indestructible monuments of their piety and wisdom in Ohio and Massachusetts.

The church of Ireland, partially emancipated by the state in 1793, had shown the greatest zeal in the restoration of its own discipline, and, after a generation, began to send out many missionaries. Its new seminaries swarmed with candidates for holy orders, and, incomplete as they were, produced a superabundant clergy. Of those who found their way into America it would be impossible to give a list.

* In 1823, after twenty-seven years on the American mission, he returned to France and was made Bishop of Montauban ; in 1826, Archbishop of Bourdeaux ; in 1836, cardinal. On the 19th of July, the same year, he expired ; on the 26th he was interred in the cathedral.

When, in 1808, Pope Pius VII. erected Boston, Bardstown,* New York, and Philadelphia into sees, two Irish ecclesiastics, Drs. Egan and Concanen, were nominated to the last-named cities. With one exception in each place, both sees have since been filled by ecclesiastics of Irish birth.

Among our venerable dead, the most distinguished Irish name is that of the first bishop of Charleston. John England was born in Cork, September 23, 1786, educated at Carlow seminary, and consecrated for Charleston in 1820. He died in the city of his see on the 11th of April, 1842, after twenty-two years of the most various and distinguished services to religion in America. Nature had endowed this eminent prelate with a vast capacity and a temperament insatiable of labor. His only rest was change of work. History, politics, criticism came as familiar to his pen as theology or philosophy. He was equally happy as orator and writer ; and though the hurried fragments he threw off for the periodical press are often provokingly sketchy, they display workings of a powerful mind, inspired by a great soul. He was the first of our prelates who desired to bind the bays of *literature* round the brows of the young American church. All the leisure hours he could conscientiously spare from the visitation of his immense diocese he gave to study and composition. It was a generous region, and the rage of the sects had not yet been

* Translated to Louisville by Papal rescript in 1841.

inflamed to fury. His fame diffused itself from city to city, so that wherever he preached all classes gathered to listen. In New Orleans the theatre was deserted for the church; in Boston the children of the Puritans monopolized the cathedral; in Kentucky the backwoodsmen escorted him in admiration from village to village; in Washington the congress invited him to address the representatives of the nation assembled in the Capitol. All who heard were edified; the poor understood, the scholars were instructed. With the generous disregard of the body natural to men of his genius, he wore out his powerful constitution in the fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a memory which assuredly shall not die.

We started with a parallel between the growth of the American state and church. In 1790 the state counted less than three millions, the church some fifty thousand; in 1820 the state had increased to nearly ten millions, the church to perhaps one and a half; in 1840 the state was seventeen millions, the church (according to Bishop England) about three millions. In the half century, while the state had more than quintupled, the church had multiplied a thousand fold! The state had added Louisiana, Florida, and the north-western territory to its domain; the church had simultaneously embraced them in her jurisdiction. Congress legislated for the tribes beyond the Rocky Mountains, governing from ocean to ocean; the provincial councils had relations as widespread and cares as extensive;

Congress had swelled to four times its original numbers; the councils had increased as much in proportion within half the time. To our own day we need not push the parallel; it is of more consequence to inquire into the causes of so marvellous an increase.

Of the new territory which had come into the Union since the beginning of the century, every square mile had been ruled by a Catholic power and was stamped with a Catholic character. We have left far behind all question of priority in Maine, Vermont, western New York, Michigan, and Maryland. I speak now of what was once "the Illinois country," of Louisiana, of Florida, and Texas; let me add also New Mexico and California — regions which now make more than half the whole area of the country. From whom were these regions detached? From France, Spain, and Mexico. What was their character when they peaceably submitted to your laws? A Catholic character certainly. Their original contingent of population, Indian, half-breed, or white, could not have fallen short of a million; and the natural increase of that million may have been, since their acquisition, thirty per cent. I do not wish to overstrain such conjectural statistics; I give them out mainly as probable approximations to the uncertain truth.

From Catholic governments has come all our increase of territory, while Catholic emigration has been a chief source of our increase. If the population over which Washington presided had quad-

rupled in two generations, we would have found but twelve millions in 1850, where we find twenty-four millions. We would then have ranked after Prussia and Spain, and before Turkey and Brazil, instead of ranking where we do. Whence came the other twelve millions? From without; from emigration; from annexation; from the increase of emigrants this side of Washington's presidency.

In kind, as in quantity, this emigration was materially more valuable than any the colonial times had known. Its uniform poverty was its most useful quality. There was an immense work of physical development to be quickly done, for which work an emigration of laborers was the prime requirement. A proprietary, or company emigration, like that to Plymouth or Baltimore, could never have supplied this element, at once mobile and uncostly. It was needful it should be an unorganized emigration, in order that it might be more easily enlisted and drafted off to its distant stations. The German villagers, who march in compact procession from the ship's side to the far west, do better for themselves, but not for the country. A steady supply of cheap labor, a force which could be freely moved from point to point of national development, which could content itself to camp in shanties, and to turn its hand to any thing, however we may think of the wisdom of those who composed it, was the great want of this republic in the last half century; and that want Catholic Ireland supplied. Native capital and native schools gave it captains

and paymasters; but the Irish were the rank and file, and they did the work.

I have spoken of the material value of the Irish emigration to the state: let us consider it a moment in a religious point of view.

The first Irish emigrants, or exiles rather, had failed to implant Catholicity in British North America. In retired spots of Barbadoes and Jamaica, Maryland and Pennsylvania, certain favored families, sprung from that stock, had retained the traditions of their fathers; a few had the happiness never to be totally deprived of the sacraments; but the vast majority had, in the absence of church and priest, fallen insensibly away. From the English till the American revolution, this is the sorrowful story of three generations. A better day had come with our present constitution, and the second outpouring from Ireland was not destined to be religiously barren. The same properties which made the Irish poor essential to the growth of the new state, made them most serviceable to the extension of the new church. Their poverty, in the eye of faith, clothed them in raiment richer than kings; for, of all its titles, Christianity has still rejoiced most to be called "the religion of the poor." Our Lord and his apostles, — were they not poor? The saints and servants of God in all ages, — did they not glory in poverty? Who can forget those thrilling words, "The poor you have with you always"? Into America, destined to become the most prosperous nation the earth had seen; where wealth was to

be the rule, and poverty the exception ; where gold was to circulate through all classes, rather than be shut up as an idol in temples where merchants worship, or lavished with Assyrian wastefulness on the palaces of effeminate princes, — among this rich democracy, unsightly clans of strangers — poor, ignorant, despised, but believing in and obeying God — were to bring, wrapped up in their rags or hidden in their bosoms, the supernatural seed, whose growth was predestined to take the place of the natural forest.

Admire the wonderful things God works with the humblest instruments. The Puritan possessed all New England — its cornfields and villages, its falling and flowing waters, its soil and its minerals. He planned factories, modelled ships, projected new routes of intercourse. Outcast Catholics came to his gate, asking for work and wages. They were welcome ; they had arrived in good time. One was sent to the ship yard, another to the mill, a third to the railroad. As their masters looked on approvingly at their work, they dreamed not that every man there was fulfilling a double purpose — "rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." They dreamed not that the carpenter's axe was shaping out, not only stanchions and ribs of ships, but altars and crosses. They dreamed not that the common laborer in the field, girt with the sower's sheet, was casting mysterious mustard seed upon New England soil. When the mill agent paid over his hard-

earned wages to the operatives, little he dreamed that on the morrow a part of that Puritan capital would go to build a Popish church, or pay a priest, or to erect a Catholic school, an orphan asylum, or a college. Yet so it had been ordered. The Puritan was to become rich; and the Catholic in his poverty was to come after him, to win wages from him by industry, and to erect in the land of the Puritan, with the money of the Puritan himself, the cross the Puritan had so long rejected.

Out of New England the same Providence is manifested. The merchants of New York desired to unite Lake Erie to the Hudson, for their own profit. An army of Catholic laborers is marshalled along the line. They penetrate from end to end of the great state. Their shanties spring up like mushrooms in the night, and often vanish like mists in the morning. To all human appearances, they are only digging a canal. Stump orators praise them as useful spades and shovels, who helped on the great work of — making money. But looking back to-day, with the results of a third of a century before us, it is plain enough those poor, rude, and homeless men were working on the foundations of three episcopal sees, were choosing sites for five hundred churches, were opening the interior of the state to the empire of religion, as well as of commerce.

The same tale may be told of the mines of Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Lake Superior. They are the catacombs of the church in their several regions.

In unwholesome damp, in cavernous darkness, in life-shortening toil, uncheered by air or sun, the Irish and German miner has wrought not for himself only, but for the church. Reckless, profane, intemperate he may sometimes be, but beyond almsgiving never. Ask the missionary of a mineral district if he has found those workers in lead and iron hard or stolid men. Have they preferred natural darkness to heavenly light? Has their unenviable lot made them callous to the call of charity, or insensible to the love of God? He will tell you that among those sons of earth, those familiars of darkness, he has often met the tenderest piety, the most fervent faith, and the noblest generosity towards religion.

In the lumber regions, in the corn-growing country, in the river towns of the south-west, among "the 'long-shore men" on the Atlantic, our religion has found her readiest resources. Never was there a church which could so truly be called the church of the poor and of the people. No Constantine, no Clovis, no royal apostle like St. Olaf or St. Eric has been here. The alms of the poor laid the broad foundation, the mechanics raised the walls, the servants adorned the sanctuaries. This is the true glory and true history of the church in America — a glory and history most largely shared by her Irish children. Great material works they will leave behind them, but far greater moral consequences; cathedrals, not canals, shall be their witnesses with posterity; the church in the new world shall be their enduring monument.

The last complete exhibition of the extent of the church in this republic was the national council which assembled in Baltimore on the 9th of May, 1852. It was presided over by the illustrious and most reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, ab-legate of the holy see. Eight archbishops, twenty-six bishops, and one mitred abbot, with their several chaplains and theologians, were present ; the prelates of Oregon, California, New Mexico, and the Indian territory included. The jurisdiction of that august assembly extended wherever our flag flies. In all the requirements of Christian rulers, — in piety, learning, wisdom, energy, eloquence, address, — the least partial observer must have admitted them to be well qualified. Those who looked deeply at that august array, gathered from the four winds, representing the Indian, Spanish, French, American, German, and Irish populations of the continent, must have felt how truly it deserved to be called Catholic. Sixty years before, Dr. Carroll summoned his synod in that same city. He was then the only bishop in this republic. His three vicars, the president of his local seminary, and sixteen priests came at his invitation. The older missionaries thanked God they had lived to see the wonderful things they saw. If it had been possible so far to prolong the span of human life, if the venerable Carroll could have lived to see this sight, his reason might have doubted its reality. He had sung the song of triumph, exulting in his day ; but how much more would he rejoice if he had lived

to witness the council over which Archbishop Kenrick presided!

With his thorough knowledge of the past history of religion in America, he would have said, "The invocation of our Blessed Lady by those first voyagers was not in vain. Not in vain was the blood of the holy martyrs shed on the Penobscot, the Mohawk, at the Sault Ste. Marie, at Natchez, and in Florida. Not in vain did the children of St. Ignatius and St. Dominic cross the Atlantic ten generations ago to found an American church. It is founded; it stands; and it shall stand!" Ay, it shall stand,—

> "Moored in the rifted *rock*,
> Proof to the tempest shock;
> Deeper it strikes, the louder it blows!"

It shall stand; and successive generations, gathered in the shelter of its gigantic wings, may well wonder why it was ever hated, or feared, or misunderstood. They will need no lecturer to tell them then of the Catholic history of North America; they will learn it in the songs of their mothers, in the stories of their fathers, from pictures on their walls, from statues in the streets, from their earliest school books and earliest associates. This is no distempered dream. If half a century has done so much for the church in the republic, why may not another half do as much more, if the fault be not our own?

One lesson we must learn ourselves and teach our

children. It is, to know our antecedents; to glory in our predecessors in the faith; to be ever ready to explain, but never to apologize, for the faith of our fathers. True, our American predecessors for the most part belong not to your nationality nor to mine; they are Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen. True that none among us may inherit the blood of the Catholic queen or the pious admiral; yet do they belong to us and we to them. Catholicity recognizes nationalities only to unite them. We are alike members of a corporation that cannot die. They are united to antiquity as we are to them; the first born of our household saw Christ; our last born shall see Antichrist. Mystical bonds bind us together, stretching far away beyond the grave of the past and the cradle of the future. As one in faith and in sacrifice, Time shall know us, and pass us on into Eternity.

In her mature age the Catholic church begot America, before Protestantism was born in a by-way of Germany. The heart of our Holy Mother has always yearned for this Benjamin of her household. The most illustrious Catholics have taken the deepest interest in American affairs: to mention St. Francis Borgia, and St. Francis Regis, Cardinal Ximenes, Bishop Las Casas, Queen Isabella, Columbus, De Soto, and Champlain, were enough. Many others are almost equally worthy of commemoration among us; but the roll would be long to call, and their services God alone can requite.

From the beginning of her civilized existence,

America owes every thing to Catholicity, to Saxon England, to orthodox France, to pious Spain ; above all, to Rome. Every order in the church, from the mendicant friar to the pope on his throne, has had a hand in your development. In the church, by children of the church, the very arts and means were made by which America was discovered and explored. Geography rescued by monks from the hands of Vandals ; astronomy nourished in the cloisters and cathedrals of the middle ages ; missionary memoirs of distant lands leading timorous Commerce in the wake of fearless Christianity ; the discovery of the compass by a Neapolitan ; the sacred shield of the church held over peaceful travellers and all men of science who sought not to give the lie to God, — these are debts which America owes to the Catholic church. Did ever ocean enterprise appeal in vain to the sanction of that church which claimed to teach all nations? Inquire of Portugal and Spain. Did ever lawful commerce find an enemy in Rome? Look to the code of Amalfi, the excommunication against those who waylaid merchants, to the favor shown the Hanseatic league, to Pisa and to Venice ; above all, look to the life of Columbus.

This continent discovered, who are its bravest pioneers — the men of trade, or the men of faith? What light is that we see shooting through the interior forest, tempting the student's eye to follow? Before the fire of the trapper's gun struck down his woodland game, before the edge of the exile's axe had caught a ray of western sunshine, a mild and

steady light is perceptible in the primitive forest; and by its friendly aid we discover the Indian kneeling before the pine-tree cross, while "the black robe" pours on his humbled head the waters of regeneration.

Colonization commences, and the church steps in to arbitrate between Christian princes; to protect the outraged savages; to declare the moral obligations of sovereignty; to preach peace, and justice, and mercy in the van of armies, in the camps of conquerors, in the councils of ambitious settlers and speculators from Europe. Go learn of the Catholics who colonized on the St. Lawrence, the Wabash, the Potomac, and the Apalachicola, two centuries ago, the unity of the human race, the true brotherhood of man, the just foundation of equal rights.

And when our own republic assumes its separate state and proclaims its independent will, how promptly Rome concedes it a separate episcopacy! how tenderly she fosters it! how proudly she caresses it!

Our history in America, my dear friends, is noble and encouraging. Its more frequent study must make us love the country better, and the church not less. It must also help to inspire that easy and habitual sense of social right, so necessary to enable us to discharge gracefully, all the obligations good citizens owe to a good government.

THE RELATIONS OF IRELAND AND AMERICA.—TWO DISCOURSES.

I.—HISTORICAL RELATIONS.*

If, *ladies and gentlemen*, the present exciting political discussion about the place and position of foreigners in the United States is to be deplored, it is rather on account of the tone and temper than of the subject matter of the discussion. No political question can be more worthy the attention of a great and fast-spreading commonwealth than the elements which compose it and give it vigor, the foreign admixtures it receives, the influences which act on it from within or from without. It is only when the examination becomes an angry argument, when men fail in mutual courtesy and in the self-

* Some repetition of ideas presented in the last discourse on the Catholic history will be detected in this and the following lecture; but as the subject is here treated from a new point of view, and with fuller details than would be proportionate in the previous discourses, we hope the courteous reader will forgive a few repetitions which could not well be avoided.

possession becoming those who debate, not for triumph, but for truth, that such discussions turn to public pests, and call aloud for quarantine regulation.

I may have some views to advance to-night which are not generally acceptable; I shall have to state some facts not currently quoted; but I trust my words will be without offence to any honest man: and as to the proofs, let them speak for themselves. I desire to advance no claims which the facts will not warrant; and the public shall be the judge between the facts and the conclusions I may draw.

The United States, as they stand to-day, have had two main sources of population — the colonial population as it existed at the date of the revolution, and extraneous additions since the revolution. If we are to analyze the first period, we must be guided by the state papers, colonial and British; by local histories and memoirs of new settlements; by that series of historical documents in which every state of the old thirteen is still able to trace its origin with tolerable accuracy.

In all our colonial memoirs we find the cardinal defect of European history; they are the story of *the few*, told by the partisans of the few; they go to exalt great names, not to show the social condition of the many. The proprietary system, under which the colonization first began, necessarily gave the turn of panegyric to all those first accounts; for family pride was not thrown overboard in the outer voyage. In every history of Virginia, it is easy to

find who was colonel or who was councillor to the governor; in every history of Massachusetts, it is equally easy to find who "was a gentleman in good circumstances, that came out with Governor Winthrop," but not so easy to ascertain who was the son of the nameless mechanic, or common cultivator, without whose presence here there could have been no Massachusetts and no Virginia.

Of two classes in our original population it is next to impossible to find any record; I mean the *convicts* and the *redemptioners*. Did these classes leave no descendants? Or are we to account for the modern silence in relation to them on the principle of that mistaken pride of pedigree, in which not even the Spaniard or the Magyar exceeds some of our republicans? If family pride conceals the true or invents a false origin for its American tree, it is as ignorant as it is inconsistent. It ought to be thought no disgrace to descend from men who were *convicts* under the barbarous English penal code of the seventeenth century; a code which punished over *four hundred* different offences with death; a code which, under Cromwell's commonwealth, executed three thousand unfortunate wretches for witchcraft; a code which, in the absolute days of the Stuarts, made, and even till our own day makes, the shooting of a partridge a capital felony. Those among us who claim to be of the best families boast that their ancestors were *fugitives* from British law as it formerly existed. What advantage can the *fugitive* claim over the *convict*, except the advantage

of escape over conviction? It is altogether a question of time and of terms, not at all of real difference or of necessary superiority.

The convict class in our colonial population was large in the seventeenth century; and though its mortality was immense, its increase was not wholly cut off. It was in the year 1619, I believe, that King James I. shipped the first cargo of convicts to Virginia, consisting of one hundred souls. The custom was continued annually till the early part of the reign of George III., notwithstanding the frequent remonstrances and sometimes the successful opposition of the free settlers. In six years after the first transportation nine thousand convicts had arrived in Virginia; but such were the hardships to which they were exposed, that only eighteen hundred, or twenty per cent. of the whole, remained in the colony. It is not necessary, I repeat, to suppose this unhappy class to be composed of criminal offenders; the English gallows did its work too thoroughly for that. Insurgent peasants who resisted the enclosure of common lands, minor offenders, and at some periods political offenders, were those usually sentenced for life "to his majesty's tobacco plantations in America."

The Irish policy of the lord protector was depopulation, and during his ten years' iron rule a vast number of our people were "transported beyond seas." The republican commissioners appointed by him to report on the condition of Ireland, recommended in 1652, among other measures, "that Irish-

women, as being too numerous now, *and therefore exposed to prostitution*, (the hypocrites!) *be sold to merchants*, and transported to Virginia, New England, Jamaica, or other countries," where, of course, they could not be exposed to such temptation. Sir William Petty states that six thousand boys and women were shipped to the West Indies alone; Bruodin, another contemporary, sets down the entire number transported in Cromwell's ten years at one hundred thousand souls; a manuscript in the late Dr. Lingard's possession set the total at sixty thousand. The whole white population in British America, at that time, was not as many more.

The pretended Popish plots in Charles II.'s reign; the revolution of 1688, which fell so heavily on Ireland; the laws of William restricting Irish manufactures; and the laws of Anne extirpating Catholic worship,—directly operated to drive a part of every Catholic generation out of Ireland. The present Earl Fitzwilliam (than whom no English statesman has a better collection of Irish statistics) has stated the number of expatriated "Irish operatives" in the reign of King William at one hundred thousand. A large proportion of these entered the military service of the Catholic powers of the old continent, where France, Spain, Austria, and even Russia, still cherish with affection traditions of their Irish soldiers. What proportion of the total found their way to America, I am unable to discover. That the number was large, we may infer from the general statements of our best local historians. Bozman

mentions the Irish insurrection of 1641 as having "affected the population of the province" of Maryland. "Of all other countries," says Dr. Ramsay, in his History of South Carolina, "none has furnished the colony with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charleston that was not crowded with men, women, and children." In North Carolina, the descendants of early Irish emigrants played a principal part throughout the last century; in Pennsylvania, if Holmes's statistics for 1729 do not form a *very* exceptional case, the arrivals from Ireland were almost ten to one to those from the rest of Europe, being five thousand six hundred and fifty-five Irish to six hundred and fifty-six from all other countries. Among these emigrants were some of fallen fortune and good education. The Moores, Lynches, Burkes, and Rutledges, who figure in the history of the Carolinas, were of the best blood of Catholic Ireland. Another class became successful merchants; as the Moylans, Sheas, Meases, and Delaneys, of the port of Philadelphia. Others still became noted as teachers; as Thomas Neil, mentioned in the History of Wyoming, and the father of the Sullivans — one of the most honorably distinguished families in the revolutionary history of New England.

A large portion of the early Irish emigrants probably belonged to the class called, in colonial phrase, *redemptioners*. These were persons unable to pay their own passage out; who bound themselves

by contract to serve a certain period here, to *redeem* their passage. Like the *convicts* to the tobacco plantations, it is impossible now to collect the statistics of the northern *redemptioners*. They were a numerous class, and some of the most honored names in our history were redemptioners. Secretary Thompson was one; Matthew Thornton was one; the parents of Major General and Governor Sullivan were *redemptioners*.*

There is another remarkable class of Irish emigrants previous to the revolution; I mean "the Scotch-Irish." These began to emigrate in considerable numbers about the beginning of the last century. Mr. Dobbs, M. P. for Armagh at that

* By the British Emigration Commissioners' report for 1854, we find that the same practice — which they erroneously call "a new principle" — has been introduced into the economy of Australian emigration. They report: —

"In New South Wales a new principle has been introduced of great importance, and which, if it succeeds, will effect a considerable change in the position of the emigrants selected and sent out by this board. The object of this change is to make the emigration to a great extent self-supporting. With this view, the price of passage to a first-class emigrant is fixed at thirteen pounds, and to the second class at fifteen pounds, and these amounts are required to be paid by or on account of each emigrant either in this country or in the colony.

"To carry out the scheme, an act was passed by the legislature, providing that all emigrants sent out at the expense of public funds should, before embarkation, enter into an agreement with us either to repay the amount still remaining due from them within fourteen days of their arrival in the colony, or to take service for two years with an employer, who should undertake to repay that amount out of their accruing wages. But a power is reserved to the emigrant to terminate such agreements after the first twelve months, by giving three months' notice, and paying up the unpaid instalments of the passage money."

period, stated the average number at three thousand a year. Hillsboro' county, New Hampshire, Ulster county, New York, western Pennsylvania, and western Virginia, were their chief settlements. They were a frugal, hardy, intrepid race of *Sctoticized* Celts. They have given many illustrious names to this nation. Montgomery, Stark, Reed, Maxwell, McDowell, and Jackson are all derived from the stout Scotch-Irish. They are more easily found in our history than their Catholic or old Irish contemporaries, because they are always met in groups; because their kirk was encouraged and our church was proscribed before the revolution; because they were frequently proprietors, and our class were generally laborers, without any fixed abodes or church organization. I honor and admire the thrifting and ambitious Scotch-Irish; but I do not believe that they at any time constituted the numerical majority, nor even a half, of the Irish in America.

My first argument is this — that from the reign of James I. till the revolution, a period of one hundred and fifty years, there were always Irish in America; that in Cromwell's time, especially, an immense infusion of that race took place; that having no special religious organization, and occupying no exclusive ground, they got mingled up from the start into the very being of the old colonial population; and that the revolution was commenced by a people, not numerous even then, who must have had almost, if not quite, as much Irish blood in them as any other blood. To make it

plainer still, let me say, in the language used in 1843 by Mr. Conrad, of Philadelphia, that Ireland is historically, I will not say, with him, "*the* mother country," but *one* of the parent sources of our native population. I leave it to the curious in figures to calculate her precise contingent; I am content to show that she had her share in the population from the first, as she has now, and that the current theory which derives our national life, and therefore our national obligations to the past, solely from the Anglo-Saxon stock, is historically false, besides being politically fatal to the true greatness of America.

It may be objected that the very fact of having to argue the question of our origin at this late day makes against my first conclusion. I deny that it does so. Fifty years ago it stood in no need of argument in the majority of the states; it never entered the heads of our predecessors here that their countrymen would be treated as intruders after their time, and ingratitude be shown to the dead to cover over injustice to the living. They made no books out of their exploits; they preferred no posthumous claims upon national remembrance. The names of Hand, Moylan, Barry, Fitzsimons, and the brave O'Briens, of Machias, were almost forgotten, when I, myself, rescued them from the moth and mildew and the studied neglect of sectional bookmakers. The work of historical retribution has only begun; but with the blessing of God it will be followed up, until we show our

boastful Anglo-Saxon theorists that the race they thought politically dead in Europe had a resurrection in America, and that from America it can still send its strong voice across the waves, to tell our motherland to be of good cheer, for the day of her deliverance also will assuredly come round.

I pass from the colonial to the revolutionary period — that stirring and brilliant generation, which began with the non-importation agreement, and ended with the federal constitution. Many details are not necessary here, for this subject is familiar to you all. Let me briefly remind you of Ireland's relations with America at that trying period. And while I recall the facts, so glorious to the people to whom I belong, do not misunderstand me. We ask no gratitude on account of the past; but we invoke the past to rebuke the injustice of the present. We call on the dead, not for patronage, but for reference; and we would desire nothing better for our cause than that the august form which led them living might arise in the front rank of the solemn inquest, and seal the general verdict with the supreme authority of WASHINGTON.

At the period of the first rupture between the colonies and Great Britain, Ireland contained above four million inhabitants, and the colonies less than three millions. Ireland had a local legislature, whose proposed acts had first to pass the King's Privy Council; in 1782 this restriction was first removed. Abroad, besides the Irish in the

colonies, there were two remarkable sets of Irishmen, officers in the French service, and writers and orators in England. What was the relation of the Irish classes towards the American cause? One of uniform friendship, of enthusiastic admiration, of practical and powerful coöperation.

We will speak first of the parent stock. By a singular concurrence, Ireland and America began clamoring at the gates of British power for redress at one and the same time. Both began with the navigation act, with taxation, and free trade; both advanced by degrees to declarations of political sovereignty — America in '76, Ireland in 1780; both obtained the recognition of their demands the same year, from the same ministry and the same monarch. This identity of causes produced identity of feeling; identity of feeling led to open acts of sympathy and correspondence; the double diversion thus effected was mutually beneficial. America's resistance gave Ireland an opportunity to propose her *ultimatum;* and Ireland's *ultimatum* helped to hasten the recognition of America's independence.

Let me quote a few authorities for this exposition. In 1771 Dr. Franklin visited Dublin, of which visit he writes to Thomas Cushing, of Boston: "Before leaving Ireland, I must mention that, being desirous of seeing the principal patriots there, I staid till the opening of their parliament. *I found them disposed to be friends to America,* in which I endeavored to confirm them, with the ex-

pectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and, by joining our interest with theirs, a more equitable treatment from this nation (England) *might be obtained for them as well as for us.*"

When, in 1775, the Continental Congress resolved openly to cast off the yoke, they directed addresses, among others, to "the Irish people." Their language, on this occasion, is remarkably fraternal and sympathetic. Let me quote a few sentences: —

"And here" (they write) "permit us to assure you that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connection with your island. Your parliament had done us no wrong; you had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and with gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America."

This address, to be found among the papers of that congress, is dated July 28, 1775, and signed JOHN HANCOCK, *president.*

While the congress that issued this address was still sitting in Philadelphia, the Parliament at Dublin and London were hardly less occupied with American affairs. In Dublin the patriots were still in a minority, though every day added to their ranks. In the session of '75, Henry Grattan, then in his twenty-ninth year, entered Parliament for the first time. In that session the question of voting troops for America came up, the king having made a requi-

sition for four thousand men. This the patriots warmly opposed, but for the time the Castle party prevailed. Session after session they renewed their opposition in voting the supplies, and in '79 they had a majority. Lord Buckinghamshire, then viceroy, in his official despatches to the government at London speaks of the patriots of that day as "the American party," as inspired by "French and American influences." In the British House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham, in his own forcible style, declared "Ireland to be American;" and in Burke's Bristol speech, the same notorious sympathy of sentiment between the countries is taken for granted.

In the London Parliament, and throughout the war, the illustrious group of whigs of Irish birth —Sheridan, Barre, Tierney, Fitzpatrick, but above all Edmund Burke — gave a powerful moral support to the colonial cause. Burke's first work was on the European settlements in America. He had been agent of the Province of New York in the early stages of the contest; he continued the friend of Franklin and Laurens, and the enemy of Lord North's measures, till its close.

Consider the moral weight of such speeches as Burke delivered from such an eminence as the great council of the British empire. His magnificent genius looked down upon the earth with the scrutiny and the elevation of a pure spirit. Beneath him, at his hand, lay Hindostan, with all its rivers and cities; his glance pierced the densest

jungles of Africa ; Europe was all familiar to him, and in its wildest mood he swung it round again into the old orbit ; on America he had long fixed those studious eyes which searched through all ages and regions for worthy subjects on which to employ his powers. Dignified as was the attitude of the colonies, it became still more so in his description ; for the amplification of virtue was the favorite office of his genius. Great as any occasion might be, he was always greater ; he spread over an immense subject like the sun over our earth, visited every side of it with impartial fervor, leaving nothing to be imagined but the source of his inspiration, and nothing to be desired but its perpetual manifestation.

Do I need quotations to sustain this eulogy? There is not a schoolboy in the land but can give you Burke's speeches on American taxation and conciliation. The greatest orator that ever used our tongue as his weapon, he ushered independent America into history in two orations, which nothing of antiquity excels and nothing since his time has equalled.

The Irish brigade in the French service, in '75, was one of the most famous military bands in Europe. According to the Duc de Feltre, four hundred thousand Irish soldiers died in the service of France in the last century — a fact which gives national importance to that military emigration. When the Franco-American alliance was first mooted, the entire brigade volunteered for America ; but

France was not yet resolved on war. A number of their officers were, however, sent out with Admiral de Ternay, (himself of that race,) and Count de Rochambeau, who brought over six thousand French troops. I need but refer to the names of the Dillons, — who afterwards died so gallantly in defence of Marie Antoinette, — of Count Philip Roche-Fermoy, of the imprudent but generous inspector general Thomas Conway, of the Marquis McMahon, and other distinguished French-Irish officers who served in the last campaigns of the revolution, and the survivors of whom formed in one of those two files between which Cornwallis marched with empty scabbard out of Yorktown.

Of the part taken by the Irish in the colonies I need hardly remind you. They were at Bunker's Hill under Stark and Reed ; at Quebec with Montgomery ; at Saratoga with Gates ; at Flatbush with Sullivan and Hand ; at Stony Point with Wayne and Moylan ; at Trenton and the Brandywine with Washington ; at Eutaw Springs with Greene ; at Savannah and at Yorktown. To use the words of the venerable George Washington Parke Custis, "They were distinguished in every action of the war."

At sea, the affair at Machias Bay, called by Mr. Fennimore Cooper "the Lexington of the seas," was fought under the brothers O'Brien ; some of the crew and officers of Paul Jones were Irish ; the leading part taken by Commodore John Barry, in the organization of the first navy of the United

States, is now familiar to you all. This Irish Catholic won for himself the proud title of father of the United States navy. On the peace establishment, previous to 1801, we find Captains Barry, McNeil, Barron, Mullowney, and James Barron; Lieutenants Ross, McElroy, McRea, O'Driscoll, Byrne, Somers, McCutchen, and McClelland; Midshipmen McDonough, Roach, Carroll, Magrath, Fleming, Hartigan, Hennessy, Dunn, O'Brien, Walsh, Blakely, T. McDonough, T. Moore, C. Moore, Rossitter, McConnell, Blake, Kearney, and Casey — all Irish, by birth or parentage.

In the civil service of the republic, during the revolution, we have Charles Thompson, the Clintons, Thomas Fitzsimons, of Philadelphia, the three Carrolls, the Lynches, father and son, and the brothers Rutledge — men who took part in every civil labor during the contest, from the first voluntary associations till the establishment, in 1789, of the federal constitution.

It thus appears that all the available Irish talent in Europe and America, military and parliamentary, was cheerfully employed in the service of America during her struggle for independence. Let me repeat here what I said of the colonial period, that I have not adduced these facts to found on them any claim to national gratitude at the present day. The Irish in America, in this generation, want no national gratitude; we ask only fair play, only the truth of history, for the honor of our race and the instruction of our children.

We have conducted this inquiry to the period of Washington's presidency, 1790. Another generation brings us to our own times, to 1820. In these thirty years the growth of America was unexampled; the north-west began to be peopled; Florida and Louisiana were added to our territory; eight new states were admitted; and the population increased from three to ten millions. The policy of acquisition and extension was inaugurated by President Jefferson and his party, to which the majority of the citizens of Irish origin always belonged. They are entitled to whatever credit is due those who sustained that policy against the powerful opposition of the old federal party. Jefferson and Madison have cheerfully given them that credit in their correspondence; and the former, so early as 1794, points out, in a letter to the latter, the Irish element as one of the chief resources of the anti-British and anti-aristocratic party. I am not going into the merits of that or any other party; I say only that the country has thriven under democratic direction, and that the credit is due to those who filled its ranks, and firmly sustained its chiefs, while their line of policy was as yet an experiment.

In two departments the Irish, from 1790 to 1820, rendered America important services — on her public works and in the war with England. That war was declared by Congress on the recommendation of a committee, four of whose members were of Irish parents or Irish birth; and Calhoun was their chair-

man. Of the familiar events of the war it is not necessary to say much: you all know of what stock Crogan, and Brady, and McComb, and Riley, and McDonough, so distinguished in the north-west, were: you all know Jackson, and Carroll, and Coffee, and Butler, of the decisive battle of New Orleans. I do not dwell on these familiar names, but merely ask you to add them to the account which I have undertaken to lay before you.

Let me call your attention to the fact that in this war adopted citizens born in the British dominions fought at an immense disadvantage; since by the prince regent's proclamation of October, 1812, all such persons were warned that, if taken prisoners, they would be treated as "rebels." President Madison and the officers of the American army could only apply in their favor the law of retaliation, which, in the well-known case of General Scott and the Irish prisoners in Canada, was found to be efficacious. Whoever will look carefully through the annals of the second English war will find that the threats of the prince regent did not deter the Irish part of the citizen soldiery from doing their duty by their adopted country. The war of 1812 was, in fact, the adopted citizens' war; a war in defence of the rights of the naturalized, on sea or on shore; a war against New England's prejudices as well as Old England's power; and a war largely indebted to captains and men of Irish descent for its glorious termination. Even if it is a sore spot, I cannot overlook the conduct of the most Anglican

part of the United States — Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts — in that contest. Their famous "Hartford convention" has not yet entirely faded from the public memory. They formed a "peace party," helpful only to the enemy; they rang their Boston bells for British victories, and tolled them for their own; they denied that the president could delegate his power over the local militia to officers commissioned by him; they gave every obstruction to their own forces, and every aid to the enemy short of overt acts of treason. The war of 1812 was fought, against all the Anglican influences on this soil, by the true Americans, native and naturalized; none of its laurels, none of its solid results, belong to the Anglican faction which has always existed here, and chiefly in New England.

The public works of the United States have been done on so gigantic a scale, and in so short a space of time, that they deserve to be classed as historical events. In 1790 the western boundary of the Middle States was still the Blue Ridge. The Cumberland Road, the Erie, and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canals, were as yet unattempted. These great works were mainly done by Irish hands; and it is now known that the Erie Canal was designed and surveyed by Christopher Colles, of Dublin, long before it was adopted by De Witt Clinton as the project of his life. The Middlesex Canal in Massachusetts owed as much to Governor Sullivan as the Erie Canal did to Governor Clinton; and the first

railroad New England had was mainly the work of Patrick Tracey Jackson, of Boston, a venerable citizen of Irish descent, whom I myself remember to have seen.

I claim the merit of the headwork as well as the handwork in these undertakings. The first claim may be ungratefully forgotten, but it can never be disproved. The second claim will not be questioned. I claim that the first highways which crossed the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies were the work of the Irish Hercules — the true pine-bender and path-preparer of the new world.

Ireland alone, from 1790 to 1820, could have supplied the necessary labor force for opening up the continent. If the native population had increased thirty per cent. in that generation, — in other words, if each family averaged *three children*, — the whole native population in 1820 would be short of *six* millions, instead of nearing *ten !* What proportion of the other four millions Ireland contributed, after '98 and "the union," I cannot ascertain, for neither in British nor American ports were the statistics of emigration recorded before 1819. That Ireland did supply the hands which led Lake Erie downward to the sea, and wedded the stormy Chesapeake to the gentle Delaware, and carried the roads of the east out to the farthest outpost of the west, we know from every report on our public works. I have said that Ireland alone could and did supply that indispensable element of labor. The native population of six millions would still have lived within

their old limits, rather than take pick and spade, lodge in shanties, and obey a *boss*. Foreign labor was needed; and that labor must be disorganized at home, that it might be more readily reorganized here. It should be cheap, mobile, and hardy; it should be sufficiently apt to pick up new habits of work, and to apprehend quickly verbal directions; it should know enough of English to comprehend its captains. In the Irish emigration alone these several dispositions were combined. It has been the lot of the Irish laborer to make roads for Germans to travel on; to fill the purse in the native's pocket; to advance every body's fortune farther than his own.

Do I complain of this? Am I ashamed of it? God forbid. Honest hand labor is the most honorable employment of man. Every other profession owes something to its pretensions, something to sleight, or show, or the credulity of its clients. Of the lawyer, the doctor, the editor, the mechanic even, this is true; but the honest workman, who puts his conscience into his work, and can point to the result and say, "There is my contract; examine it; see if I have not done every thing I undertook,"—he can make a prouder boast, and take a higher moral stand, than almost any member of a learned profession. If the labor emigration is a fact true of Ireland and America for two hundred years, it is not peculiar to American history nor to the Irish race; and though it has its sad side, it has also its halo of glory. You who make the term

foreigner a reproach to us, — who are you? Children or grandchildren of foreigners. And we, — who are we? The parentage of native generations, destined to rule this continent in conjunction with your children's children. In one sense we are all foreigners to America; European civilization is foreign to it; white complexions are foreign to it; the Christian religion is foreign to it. The term conveys no stigma to the well-informed mind. The man of reading and reflection knows that at one time or other it was true of all humanity — true of the first man, as it may be of the last. The history of our race is a history of emigration. In Asia Eden was; but without Eden the world lay. The first emigrants were that sad pair who travelled into the outer darkness, lighted by the glare of the fiery sword threatening at their backs. When their ears no longer caught the rustling of the trees of paradise, or the flow of its living waters, they felt themselves truly emigrants: —

> "Some natural tears they shed, but dried them soon;
> The world was all before them, where to choose
> A place of rest, and Providence their guide."

Upon what consolation did our first parents rest? Upon labor and upon hope, "Go forth and fill the earth and subdue it," and the promised Messiah. Since then, the story of their posterity has been the same. Westward with the sun they travelled from the first, keeping on earth an apparent parallel to his apparent course. The cities of Enoch,

Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Thebes, Carthage, Rome,—what are they? Landmarks and tidemarks of the endless emigration. In the days before history, in the mountain mists of tradition, we see the dim forms of pioneers and leaders, carrying their tribes from old homes to new homes, over mountains and across straits, and through the labyrinth of the primeval wilderness. All mythology is a story about emigrants; and the tale did not end when Hercules set up his pillars at the Strait of Gades, and forbade his descendants to tempt the exterior ocean. In the dawn of classic light we see mankind with darkened and troubled brows, gazing out to the forbidden west as they lean against those pillars. The fearless Phœnician came, and swept by without slacking sail or heeding Hercules; he went, and came, and went, disenchanting mankind of their fears. The Romans talked of having reached the earth's *ultima:* and so Europe rested for ages, in full belief of the Roman geography. At last Columbus rose, that inspired sailor, who, dedicating his ship and himself to the protection of the Blessed Virgin, launched fearlessly into the undiscovered sea, and introduced the new world to the acquaintance of the old. After Columbus we came, borne onward by the destiny of humanity, in obedience to the primitive charter of our race—"Go forth and fill the earth and subdue it; and in the sweat of your brow you shall earn your bread."

The Irish emigrant stands on this high ground; and, so standing, he can look the past fearlessly in

the face. He has no cause to be ashamed of his predecessors here. If they founded no exclusive *New Ireland*, the blood of no exterminated Indian tribe rises in judgment against them; if they were sole proprietors of no province, neither have they to answer for enslaving the African. They were here, subordinates in power, but principals in labor. They could say, and we may say for them, that in no department of American development have the Irish mind and the Irish arm been unfelt. We have given the Union, in this century, its greatest speculative and its greatest practical statesman — John C. Calhoun and Andrew Jackson; we have given the Union two vice presidents, nine signers of the Declaration of Independence, six authors of the Constitution, ten major generals to its army, and six commodores to its navy. In science, in authorship, in oratory we have been represented, as well as in digging, and delving, and carrying the hod. We can look History in the face; and, putting our hands upon any part of the fabric of the state, we can say, as a people, *This* was *partly* our work.

Such, as I read the record, are the historical relations of Ireland and America. And being such, with God for our guide, and our own labor for our dependence, we may defy the designs of faction, and look as fearlessly to the future as proudly to the past.

II. — ACTUAL RELATIONS.

On the last evening I had the honor to stand in this place, I showed, I believe conclusively, that the Irish emigration was no new fact in American history; that it was as old as the planting of white population in this country; that on the historic account between Ireland and America, down to the year 1820, there was an apparent balance — and I believe a real one — due from this new nation to that ancient island. At the same time I disclaimed altogether the intention of raising a claim to national gratitude on that historic basis. I strove to bring out the facts partly as a set-off to present injustice, but mainly as a lesson, important for your native-born children and mine to learn.

I propose to-night, *ladies and gentlemen*, with your indulgence, to consider the actual relations subsisting in our generation between the land of our birth (of mine at least) and this new land of our adoption. I fear you may find the subject a dry one; but I trust to the natural interest we all feel in our own times and fortunes to enable me to carry you through to the end of the argument.

I find these actual relations open to four divisions.

1. That which regards the bare statistics of population. 2. That which concerns American commerce and development. 3. The political; and, 4. The religious relations of America and Ireland.

We have each Irish and American decennial census since 1820, and the recent British and American Emigrant Commissioners' reports, to help us in our inquiry into the movement of population between the countries. In 1821 Ireland contained six million six hundred eighty-seven thousand three hundred and six souls. In 1841 eight million one hundred seventy-five thousand one hundred and fifty-four souls, or a home increase of less than twenty-five per cent.; that is to say, less than an average of five children to two families. In 1851 the same country had fallen back to six million five hundred fifty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy souls, or less than it contained thirty years before. The increase of one entire generation was thus lost to that afflicted land. What might that increase be? If it were in the ratio of the increase in the thirty years before 1820, — which included a sanguinary civil war and two years of famine, — it ought to have been at least thirty-three per cent., giving in 1850 a total of ten million instead of six and a half!

Here are, between the years 1820 and '50, three million and a half of the Irish people to be accounted for. If we allow the cholera of 1832 and the famine of 1847 to have swept away a million by death, (and a million is a large allowance,) there

still remain two million five hundred thousand souls to be accounted for, most of whom are believed to be at present living in America.

In the decade from 1820 to 1830, the British government was active in depleting the Irish population. They gave every encouragement, including a pecuniary *bonus*, to emigrants for their own colonies — the Cape of Good Hope, Sydney, and Canada. In those ten years the whole governmental emigration from what is perversely called "the United Kingdom" was one hundred fifty-four thousand two hundred and ninety-one souls; in the next decennial period, down to 1840, it was two hundred seventy-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-six souls; and in the last the increase, including Australia, was duplicate. Taking these figures together, we have two thirds of a million of emigrants who, under the auspices of the British government, left British ports between the years 1830 and 1850 to settle in British dependencies. If of this total one half were Irish, we would still have two million two hundred thousand of their countrymen to locate somewhere on the globe; and this number is not, I imagine, very far from the direct contribution of Ireland to the American population within the present generation.*

* In their report for 1854, the British commissioners of emigration state that the total number who have emigrated in the thirty-nine years between 1815 and 1853, inclusive, has been three million seven hundred ninety-three thousand five hundred and twenty-nine; but that of these two million one hundred twenty-one thousand three hundred and

Speaking of population, we should distinguish the kind as well as the quantity. On inquiry from persons long engaged in the passenger trade, I have been invariably told that four fifths of all those emigrating from Ireland are adults. This modifies essentially all after calculations in relation to that class. In our native population, the proportion of adults to minors is, from the short average of human life, not more than one third. Hence, so far as adult labor and service are involved, two million and a half of emigrants yield as many hands as six million of the native population. This is an important consideration, and I will ask you to bear it in mind hereafter.

This is a people already reared, each individual of which, if born here, would have consumed a thousand dollars' worth of food, clothing, and other necessaries before he or she could have become a maker of money. The first cost of a million of people to this state of society must be fully a thousand million of dollars between infancy and adult age ; and to that amount, and far more than that, our adult emigration has enriched the United States. For the five years ending in '53, there are registered of Irish emigrants to this country alone above a million, of whom, according to my informants in

seventy-three, or more than eleven twentieths, have emigrated during the seven years ending on the 31st of December, 1853. Now, of this total, at least two thirds, over two million five hundred thousand, were Irish, of whom the greater part came to the United States — a strong proof of the correctness of the calculation in the text.

the passenger trade, four fifths, or eight hundred thousand, were adults. We have been accustomed to a complaint from certain quarters that this is a pauper emigration — that this country is overrun with foreign paupers. What are the facts? The commutation tax, which must be paid on every foreigner, adult or infant, is two dollars per head for young and old, and amounted last year to upwards of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars on emigrants from British ports alone, and must have been as much more on the German emigration. Now, the total number of persons born abroad, — of all nationalities, — who received alms in any or all our states during last year, was sixty-eight thousand, being less than ten per cent. of the whole number arrived; thus giving for the expense of each — the commutation tax being so set apart according to law — not less than twenty-two dollars a head — an amount, it is needless to say, far more than sufficient to save the native public from any poor tax specially levied on account of emigrants.*

Another distinction to be considered is, that gen-

* I deny, however, that the sixty-eight thousand "foreigners" entered as receiving relief in our poorhouses, in 1853, can all be properly called emigrants. A large proportion of them have spent years here, been naturalized, been worked out in the service of the commonwealth. On this and similar topics there is a very free and easy alternation of terms in vogue. The brave soldier is an American; the same soldier, if he deserts, is "a foreigner;" the gallant fireman or seaman is a fellow-citizen; but his brother, if detected in any thing disgraceful, becomes suddenly "a foreigner." Against this unfair substitution of terms common honesty cries out.

erally the European emigrants who come here are robust, inured to physical labor, and contented to keep at it. There are very few of them afflicted with dyspepsia, or debility, or impotency. They are not given to shout for a doctor if their little fingers ache, nor to shrink from frost or fire, mud or madder. Whether they settle on new lands or encamp upon public works, they must pay their way from the beginning. There is no bankruptcy among them; the emigrant cannot fail while his health holds good; he expends as he earns; his cash is the briskest in circulation — for it no sooner passes into his possession than it is partitioned among all who live by trading in the necessaries of life.

In the period of which we have been speaking, while Ireland lost one third of all her people, this country had advanced from less than ten million to more than twenty-three! Supposing the native family to average three children, the natural increase would have reached but to fifteen, leaving eight million to be otherwise accounted for. The census of 1850 furnishes no solution of this problem; but the census of 1850 is no authority. It would have the world believe that there are now but two million of men of foreign birth in this republic; whereas the statistics of emigration show that for the last ten years alone more than that number of Irish people landed on these shores. Were there no foreigners here before 1840? Are there no French, no Italians? Are not the Germans and Scandinavians, taken together, more numerous

still than the Irish? And yet this census would have the world believe there are but two million of foreigners altogether in the United States! If it had set them down at six million of all nationalities, it would have been nearer the mark.

As to the effects of emigration on American commerce and internal development, there is no need for argument, though there is ample material for illustration. No one denies that to the influx of cheap labor, during the last thirty years, the United States owe their four thousand miles of canal and fourteen thousand miles of railroad. No one denies that the states which encouraged emigration, and pushed forward public works, are the states which now feed and clothe the country. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, thirty years ago, were second or third-class states; now they stand next after New York and Pennsylvania, before Massachusetts and Maryland, and beside old Virginia. The value of foreign labor to the north-west, the last thirty years, defies computation. Last year it was shown by Chicago papers that the employment of ten thousand men for one year, on the Illinois Central Railroad, had enhanced the value of the public lands in that state seventeen million dollars — a fact from which the curious may calculate of how much value a million of men, laboring for thirty years for the state and themselves, may have been. "This," said Benjamin Franklin nearly a century since, "is a country of labor;" "and such," said Matthew Cary forty years ago, "it remains till this day." Another

high authority in political economy, Adam Smith, defines "the *annual labor* of every nation" to be "the fund which originally supplies it with all the conveniences and necessaries of life." If we apply these maxims to our subject, they will help us to some sound conclusions. This whole continent may, in fact, be considered as the raw material out of which the nation itself was, a few years ago, to be manufactured; the factors were both natives and emigrants; and as roads, bridges, canals, and crops must precede the full triumph of civilization over barrenness, so here, as every where else since the world began, the foreigner has been the civilizer. Compare the present value to society and the world of an acre of Ohio wheat land with the utter uselessness of that same acre when the Miami Indian had his wigwam there, and you will see how real and how general a benefactor to his race the foreign laborer has been. In that delightful harmony of interests which, however often deranged by human perversity, does still pervade the world, the cultivation of a new territory on any side of the earth affects every inhabited region. The shower that falls on the Alleghanies gladdens the hearts of men beside the Clyde; and the farmer in Indiana becomes the feeder of the mechanic in Manchester.

I am not able to say what proportion of the purchasers of our public lands, during the last few years, were men of foreign birth; but I will, for argument's sake, suppose it to be one fourth. From 1833 to 1850 there were some seventy-seven million

acres sold for about one hundred million dollars. If foreigners bought a fourth part, they had in sixteen years paid into the United States treasury twenty-five million dollars, or above *a million and a half a year*. They had become proprietors of some twenty million acres of land, upon which they had paid into the several states the taxes imposed by each; which, in the aggregate, must amount to some millions per annum. They have given freights to the lake and ocean shipping to an incalculable amount, especially since the repeal of the British corn laws; they have kept afloat a larger tonnage on the lakes than the whole of the foreign trade yet employs.

Manufacturing had profited no less than agriculture by emigration. All along the Merrimac and Connecticut you may hear the Irish accent; in the bowels of the earth, through Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Michigan, you meet it every where. We have the statistics of our manufactures for 1850, and we find from them that the capital employed was rated at five hundred and thirty million dollars; that the raw material used was valued at five hundred and fifty million; and the annual product at ten hundred and twenty million. The number of hands employed exceeded a million, and their aggregate wages were two hundred and forty million dollars. Let me suppose again, for the sake of argument, that even one fourth of these hands were foreign born; they then contributed a fourth to the annual production, or above two hundred and fifty million dollars

per annum ; at the same time they earn and expend a fourth of the aggregate wages, or sixty million ; thus contributing to the commonwealth, in this one department of labor, not less than three hundred million per annum.

It appears that no American interest gains so directly by emigration as the ocean shipping. I assert that the passenger trade, more than any other, has built up the merchant marine of New York. To this trade your Marshalls, Minturns, Grinnells, Collinses, and Thompsons owe their fleets of packet ships. Let us suppose the passenger trade had not existed. I ask any man, who has any knowledge of the subject, if he believes even one of our great Liverpool lines would have *paid*. If, like the ships which carry British subjects out to Australia, our ships had to return in ballast, or with quarter freight, after discharging their cotton or flour, would it pay ? I have no hesitation in saying it can be proved that our merchant marine has doubled its tonnage since 1836, mainly because it was always certain of a speedy home freight on the other side of the Atlantic.

Take the average number of passengers brought out by a packet ship to be four hundred and fifty. The prices have ranged, the last few seasons, from fifteen to twenty-five dollars per head. Such a ship will make three trips per year ; and deducting, say ten per cent., the entire passage money goes to the owners. On this calculation, such a ship will average for her owners in twelve months, on passengers alone, twenty thousand dollars — more than

the interest on her first cost and her whole running expenses combined. We sometimes hear our friends in the shipping business grumbling, and declaring that the passenger business "don't pay." In future, to quote a sea proverb, "they may tell that to the marines." If, to-day, the United States is the second commercial power in the world, it is certain she owes that position as much to the immense emigration of Irish, all embarked in her shipping, as to any other single cause.

Let me reverse the picture, and inquire if Ireland has benefited commercially as well as America. Alas! no. These fleets that crowd the Atlantic pass by the Irish coast as if it were infected. They enter no Irish harbor except when beaten in by angry storms. They compel the Irish peasantry to meet them on British soil, to transship themselves at the Mersey. Ireland has not had the consolation, in parting with her children, of placing them with her own hands under their new flag. Some years ago, in this city, you may remember the abortive efforts made to establish a line of steamships between New York and Galway; you may remember the tricks played on us by Wagstaff and Barnum, and the fate of the Viceroy, cast away on the coast of Nova Scotia. Explain it as we may, by British intrigue, force of habit, or shortness of sight, America has left Ireland as a country out of her commercial charts, while Ireland has been almost exhausted to increase production in America. Do not suppose that I complain of this. I do not. I

blame only the Irish in Ireland and the Irish in America, who have not had practical patriotism enough to establish direct intercourse between themselves since their separation.

Though the drafts of America on Irish population have not served Ireland commercially, but the contrary, I am sure such was never the design of any party in this republic. The political sympathy of this people has always been with the land of Burke and O'Connell, and, notwithstanding recent signs of national change, I do believe is with her still. In the emancipation struggle ending in 1829, in the repeal agitation of 1843, in the projected insurrection of 1848, the heart of America was on the side of Ireland. One proof of this, open to no exception, was given during the famine of 1846–'7, when the Jamestown and Macedonian, freighted with charity and manned by mercy, carried the starry flag into the darkness and desolation of the Irish night. That event never shall be forgotten by the Irish heart.

Besides the national sympathy which great occasions only can call out, there has been another bond of brotherhood — the constant family care of the emigrants themselves for those they left behind. As men escaping to a rock throw ropes to those still on a wreck, so, since the famine especially, the Irish here have worked, not for themselves alone, but for their kindred left behind. We have the recent returns of the British Parliamentary Commissioners for the monetary remittances of this class,

which, in '48, were four hundred and sixty thousand pounds; in '49, five hundred and forty thousand pounds; in '50, nine hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds; in '51, nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds; in '52, one million four hundred and four thousand pounds; and in '53, one million four hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds; or in all, during the five years previous to the present, a total of more than *twenty-eight million dollars*. And this only includes the money orders payable in Ireland or England; it does not include the price of passages paid at New York for persons emigrating, nor remittances by hand, nor enclosures of cash. If we estimate these other contributions at one third the amount of the money orders, we have thirty-seven million dollars earned for Ireland by her emigrants during the last five years — a fact unprecedented in the relations of colonies and mother countries.

Not only has the private generosity of the Irish here been beyond parallel, but their liberality to institutions of religion and learning in their native land has been beyond praise. There has been hardly a church built in Ireland the past few years to which there were not contributions from America. The new university, about to be opened at Dublin on St. Malachy's feast, has received its largest endowment from the children of the exodus; and the new Cathedral Church of Armagh — of Armagh, the city of St. Patrick! — has been, or will be, equally their debtor. Though Ireland has not yet gained commercially or politically by her rela-

tions with America, there is every reason to hope that, socially, she may hereafter gain much by the enlarged means and better position of her generous and unforgetful children in the new world.

I have shown the balance of material gain in numbers, in development, and in commerce to be, up to the present, in favor of this country. Let me add, that the moral and religious gain has been also great to the republic. By the census of 1850, the whole number of what are called "communicants" of all our churches does not exceed *six million*, of whom within a fraction of *two million* are set down as Roman Catholics. If these statistics are any thing near the mark, one third of all the professed believers in Christianity in this republic are Catholics. Even if men do not regard this fact with Catholic eyes, they cannot in reason deny that religion is necessary for us all; that, especially where the civil power is weak, the moral force ought to be strong; that the strength of moral force lies in exact dogmas and positive principles; that, therefore, whatever occasion has added two million of positive believers to the population of this republic, has conferred on it a benefit and a blessing, "better than gold — yea, than fine gold." Looking at it merely as a social agent, the church in America is of the utmost importance. To her appertains the science of theology — the soul that originally informed the framework of our civilization. Her doctrine is a system within which the grandest intellects have found ample range; her

spirit is one of true progress and real conservatism; one which looks to truth, and not to popularity; to all time, and not to the passion or fashion of the hour. As a mistress of philosophy, as a bulwark of order, as a stay of law, the Catholic church is, socially, the most important of all religious institutions to the peace and harmony of this confederation. Its silent power attracts to it all studious minds; and, by attraction or repulsion, its presence is felt in every pulse and at every pore of American society.

To us Catholics it is much more than a great social institution. It is the pillar and ground of truth. It is the work of God, and partakes of the attributes of its Author. Its decrees are justice itself, its mercy inexhaustible, its love inexpressible, its glory incomprehensible. All other institutions which exist on earth the soul of man can fathom without fear; but this divine foundation is rooted in the eternal tides; and he who seeks with his paltry plummet to fathom them, seeks confusion and his own shame. It partakes, even in space, of the magnificence of its Maker. The morning sun, as he steps forth out of his chamber in the east, salutes it first of earthly objects; and the noonday sun looks down and cries, "Lo, it is here also!" and the evening sun, as he passes away into the farthest west, lingers a while upon its turrets, and pays a parting visit to its altars.

To us it is the church of our fathers, the church of our exile, the church of our children. It is poetry, it is history, it is art, it is society, it is truth

itself. No wonder, then, that every attack upon it sounds in our ears as a profanation; no wonder we should prefer to hear every wrong the passions of the mob can plan or execute rather than for one moment to doubt or deny that holy church.

To others of our fellow-citizens, what we so honor is detestable; what we so love to contemplate is to them an eyesore and an ulcer; what we venerate as immaculate they stigmatize as adulterous. It is very certain that such opposite beliefs cannot coexist without collision. There will be, there must be, collisions. There is only one way to avoid them — for either party to affect a dishonest indifference to dogma, a criminal impartiality between truth and falsehood. This, I trust, neither of us shall do. But then, how can we avoid coming into collision with our fellow-citizens? I repeat, we cannot always avoid it. No manly man, not to say sincere Christian, can pass through the world without conflicts of opinion and belief. From boyhood to old age we all have such battles to fight; but there is no necessity among men, members of the same commonwealth, that they should be physical battles. So long as we discharge our duties to the state, who has any right to arraign us in the name of the state? Neither has the state itself any right to arraign us in the name of religion; for the American state is of no religion. As to our public conduct, we challenge inquiry and comparison; as to our private conscience, we permit no human power to sit as umpire there. We shall worship,

and pray, and teach our children, and choose our translation of the Scriptures, and endow our church, as conscience dictates; and not all the forces of earth and hell combined can compel us to the contrary.

To those others who seem disposed at present to try the experiment of a popular persecution of Catholics, if the voice of reason still could reach them, I would say, Go down Chatham Street.* Go down Chatham Street, and observe its Jewish inhabitants. There is a race which has stood the persecutions of eighteen centuries; yet their numbers to-day are said to be the same they were at their dispersion, and half the thrones of the world are their mortgaged chattels. Has persecution converted the Jew? And is the Christian, with so many additional sources of spiritual strength, — is he likely to yield before it?

Look to a more modern instance. For three hundred years the exclusively Protestant government of Great Britain persecuted the Irish, Scotch, and English Catholics. It stripped them naked of every right; it confiscated their lands, seized their churches, closed their schools, treated them as outlaws in their own land. With what result? After three hundred years of an experiment, carried on with a diabolical tenacity and skill, the rusted chains gave way; their greatest soldier declared

* In these and the previous discourses, some local allusions will be understood by remembering that they were originally delivered in New York.

the sword could not avail ; their subtlest statesman renounced all hope in intrigue or intimidation. So, in the year 1829, a strong man from the west, by name O'Connell, pushed apart the doors of the British senate, and ushered the Catholics of that empire into their long-vacant seats.

What do the present conspirators against their Catholic fellow-citizens hope to gain by persecution ? Did the burning of the Philadelphia churches injure it in that city ? Will the sack and sacrilege of Newark injure most — those who committed, or those who suffered, the wrong ? Will that dreadful scene the other night at Ellsworth change the tenets of any Catholic ? That was a scene to stir the most lukewarm blood, when a hundred armed ruffians stole in the darkness of midnight upon the retreat of a poor Swiss priest, stripped him beneath the northern sky, and committed their nameless outrages upon his defenceless person. I say, no man of any creed can think of such an outrage without feeling his blood boil, and his arm erect itself to strike the ferocious midnight rabble down.

The Irish Catholics in America have been chiefly instrumental in bringing this unpopular religion into the country, and they must be prepared for the consequences. They stand here, in their highest relation to the destiny of America, as church builders. They have paid back the money of the Puritan by acclimating the cross in the atmosphere of the Puritan. They have made it known that the 25th of December is Christmas day, and that God is to be

honored in his saints. They have practically brought to the American mind the idea that marriage is a holy sacrament, not a civil contract. In their small catechism, they have introduced the profoundest system of Christian philosophy. All this they have done out of their poverty, but not without exciting derision, scorn, envy, jealousy, and fear — the whole tribe of the meaner passions of human nature. A tree of that size does not lift itself aloft without catching the gale, nor strike its strong roots round it without disturbing the earth.

Contemporaneously with their religious activity they have pushed their personal fortunes, becoming citizens, and insisting on their civil rights. This people, so long oppressed at home, show some boldness here in pretending to any political existence. Some Americans take offence at their presumption in this respect — "they were a subject class in Great Britain, and ought to be so here;" it is very well for them to be permitted to eat their pudding in peace; to claim equality is audacious. Tell us, ye professors of equality, ye apostles of progress, is this your progress, is this your equality? If so, give me the undisguised tyrant, who acts as he speaks, and speaks before he strikes, instead of such mobs as would fain make themselves our masters.

Here I may well close. Whoever lives to see the end of this century may be in a position to finish the subject.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE

OF THE

CATHOLIC HISTORY OF AMERICA.

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

THE WILL OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

[For the following translation of this characteristic document, we are indebted to Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, vol. iii. p. 444, Putnam's (New York) edition, 1849.]

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, who inspired me with the idea, and afterwards made it perfectly clear to me, that I could navigate and go to the Indies from Spain, by traversing the ocean westwardly; which I communicated to the king, Don Ferdinand, and to the queen, Doña Isabella, our sovereigns; and they were pleased to furnish me the necessary equipment of men and ships, and to make me their admiral over the said ocean, in all parts lying to the west of an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues west of the Cape de Verd and Azore Islands; also appointing me their viceroy and governor over all continents and islands that I might discover beyond the said line westwardly, with the right of being

succeeded in the said offices by my eldest son and his heirs forever; and a grant of the tenth part of all things found in the said jurisdiction; and of all rents and revenues arising from it; and the eighth of all the lands and every thing else, together with the salary corresponding to my rank of admiral, viceroy, and governor, and all other emoluments accruing thereto, as is more fully expressed in the title and agreement sanctioned by their highnesses.

And it pleased the Lord Almighty that in the year 1492 I should discover the continent of the Indies and many islands, among them Hispaniola, which the Indians call Ayte, and the Monicongos, Cipango. I then returned to Castile to their highnesses, who approved of my undertaking a second enterprise for further discoveries and settlements; and the Lord gave me victory over the Island of Hispaniola, which extends six hundred leagues, and I conquered it and made it tributary; and I discovered many islands inhabited by cannibals, and seven hundred to the west of Hispaniola, among which is Jamaica, which we call Santiago, and three hundred and thirty-three leagues of continent from south to west, besides a hundred and seven to the north, which I discovered in my first voyage, together with many islands, as may more clearly be seen by my letters, memorials, and maritime charts. And as we hope in God that before long a good and great revenue will be derived from the above islands and continent, of which, for the reasons aforesaid, belong to me the tenth and the eighth, with the salaries and emoluments specified above; and considering that we are mortal, and that it is proper for every one to settle his affairs, and to leave declared to his heirs and successors the property he possesses or may have a right to: Wherefore I have con-

cluded to create an entailed estate (mayorazgo) out of the said eighth of the lands, places, and revenues, in the manner which I now proceed to state.

In the first place, I am to be succeeded by Don Diego, my son, who in case of death without children is to be succeeded by my other son Ferdinand; and should God dispose of him also without leaving children, and without my having any other son, then my brother Don Bartholomew is to succeed; and after him his eldest son; and if God should dispose of him without heirs, he shall be succeeded by his sons from one to another forever; or, in the failure of a son, to be succeeded by Don Ferdinand, after the same manner, from son to son successively, or in their place by my brothers Bartholomew and Diego. And should it please the Lord that the estate, after having continued for some time in the line of any of the above successors, should stand in need of an immediate and lawful male heir, the succession shall then devolve to the nearest relation, being a man of legitimate birth, and bearing the name of Columbus, derived from his father and his ancestors. This entailed estate shall in no wise be inherited by a woman, except in case that no male is to be found, either in this or any other quarter of the world, of my real lineage, whose name, as well as that of his ancestors, shall have always been Columbus. In such an event, (which may God forefend!) then the female of legitimate birth, most nearly related to the preceding possessor of the estate, shall succeed to it; and this is to be under the conditions herein stipulated at foot, which must be understood to extend as well to Don Diego, my son, as to the aforesaid and their heirs, every one of them, to be fulfilled by them; and failing to do so, they are to be deprived of the succession,

for not having complied with what shall herein be expressed, and the estate to pass to the person most nearly related to the one who held the right; and the person thus succeeding shall in like manner forfeit the estate, should he also fail to comply with said conditions; and another person, the nearest of my lineage, shall succeed, provided he abide by them, so that they may be observed forever in the form prescribed. This forfeiture is not to be incurred for trifling matters, originating in lawsuits, but in important cases, when the glory of God, or my own, or that of my family may be concerned, which supposes a perfect fulfilment of all the things hereby ordained; all which I recommend to the courts of justice. And I supplicate his holiness, who now is, and those that may succeed in the holy church, that if it should happen that this my will and testament has need of his holy order and command for its fulfilment, that such order be issued in virtue of obedience, and under penalty of excommunication, and that it shall not be in any wise disfigured. And I also pray the king and queen, our sovereigns, and their eldest born, Prince Don Juan, our lord, and their successors, for the sake of the services I have done them, and because it is just, that it may please them not to permit this my will and constitution of my entailed estate to be any way altered, but to leave it in the form and manner which I have ordained, forever, for the greater glory of the Almighty, and that it may be the root and basis of my lineage, and a memento of the services I have rendered their highnesses; that, being born in Genoa, I came over to serve them in Castile, and discovered to the west of Terra Firma the Indies and islands before mentioned. I accordingly pray their highnesses to order that this my privilege and testa-

ment be held valid, and be executed summarily and without any opposition or demur, according to the letter. I also pray the grandees of the realm and the lords of the council, and all others having administration of justice, to be pleased not to suffer this my will and testament to be of no avail, but to cause it to be fulfilled as by me ordained; it being just that a noble, who has served the king and queen and the kingdom, should be respected in the disposition of his estate by will, testament, institution of entail or inheritance, and that the same be not infringed either in whole or in part.

In the first place, my son Don Diego, and all my successors and descendants, as well as my brothers Bartholomew and Diego, shall bear my arms, such as I shall leave them after my days, without inserting any thing else in them; and they shall be their seal to seal withal. Don Diego my son, or any other who may inherit this estate, on coming into possession of the inheritance, shall sign with the signature which I now make use of, which is an X with an S over it, and an M with a Roman A over it, and over that an S, and then a Greek Y, with an S over it, with its lines and points as is my custom, as may be seen by my signatures, of which there are many, and it will be seen by the present one.

He shall only write "the admiral," whatever other titles the king may have conferred on him. This is to be understood as respects his signature, but not the enumeration of his titles, which he can make at full length if agreeable, only the signature is to be "the admiral."

The said Don Diego, or any other inheritor of this estate, shall possess my offices of admiral of the ocean, which is to the west of an imaginary line, which his high-

ness ordered to be drawn, running from pole to pole a hundred leagues beyond the Azores, and as many more beyond the Cape de Verd Islands, over all which I was made, by their order, their admiral of the sea, with all the preëminences held by Don Henrique in the admiralty of Castile, and they made me their governor and viceroy perpetually and forever over all the islands and mainland discovered, or to be discovered, for myself and heirs, as is more fully shown by my treaty and privilege as above mentioned.

Item: The said Diego, or any other inheritor of this estate, shall distribute the revenue which it may please our Lord to grant him in the following manner, under the above penalty:—

First: Of the whole income of this estate, now and at all times, and of whatever may be had or collected from it, he shall give the fourth part annually to my brother Don Bartholomew Columbus, Adelantado of the Indies; and this is to continue till he shall have acquired an income of a million of maravadises for his support, and for the services he has rendered and will continue to render to this entailed estate; which million he is to receive, as stated, every year, if the said fourth amount to so much, and that he have nothing else; but if he possess a part or the whole of that amount in rents, that thenceforth he shall not enjoy the said million, nor any part of it, except that he shall have in the said fourth part unto the said quantity of a million, if it should amount to so much; and as much as he shall have of revenue beside this fourth part, whatever sum of maravadises of known rent from property or perpetual offices, the said quantity of rent or revenue from property or offices shall be discounted, and from the said

million shall be reserved whatever marriage portion he may receive with any female he may espouse; so that, whatever he may receive in marriage with his wife, no deduction shall be made on that account from said million, but only for whatever he may acquire, or may have, over and above his wife's dowry; and when it shall please God that he or his heirs and descendants shall derive from their property and offices a revenue of a million arising from rents, neither he nor his heirs shall enjoy any longer any thing from the said fourth part of the entailed estate, which shall remain with Don Diego, or whoever may inherit it.

Item: From the revenues of the said estate, or from any other fourth part of it, (should its amount be adequate to it,) shall be paid every year to my son Ferdinand two millions, till such time as his revenue shall amount to two millions, in the same form and manner as in the case of Bartholomew, who, as well as his heirs, are to have the million or the part that may be wanting.

Item: The said Don Diego or Don Bartholomew shall make out of the said estate, for my brother Diego, such provision as may enable him to live decently, as he is my brother, to whom I assign no particular sum, as he has attached himself to the church, and that will be given him which is right: and this to be given him in a mass, and before any thing shall have been received by Ferdinand my son, or Bartholomew my brother, or their heirs, and also according to the amount of the income of the estate. And in case of discord, the case is to be referred to two of our relations, or other men of honor; and should they disagree among themselves, they will choose a third person as arbitrator, being virtuous and not distrusted by either party.

Item: All this revenue which I bequeath to Bartholomew, to Ferdinand, and to Diego, shall be delivered to and received by them as prescribed under the obligation of being faithful and loyal to Diego my son, or his heirs, they as well as their children; and should it appear that they, or any of them, had proceeded against him in any thing touching his honor, or the prosperity of the family, or of the estate, either in word or deed, whereby might come a scandal and debasement to my family and a detriment to my estate, in that case nothing further shall be given to them or him from that time forward, inasmuch as they are always to be faithful to Diego and to his successors.

Item: As it was my intention, when I first instituted this entailed estate, to dispose, or that my son Diego should dispose for me, of the tenth part of the income in favor of necessitous persons, as a tithe, and in commemoration of the almighty and eternal God, and persisting still in this opinion, and hoping that his high Majesty will assist me, and those who may inherit it, in this or the new world, I have resolved that the said tithe shall be paid in the manner following: —

First: It is to be understood that the fourth part of the revenue of the estate which I have ordained and directed to be given to Don Bartholomew, till he have an income of one million, includes the tenth of the whole revenue of the estate; and that as in proportion as the income of my brother Don Bartholomew shall increase, as it has to be discounted from the revenue of the fourth part of the entailed estate, that the said revenue shall be calculated, to know how much the tenth part amounts to; and the part which exceeds what is necessary to make up the mil-

lion for Don Bartholomew shall be received by such of my family as may most stand in need of it, discounting it from said tenth, if their income do not amount to fifty thousand maravadises; and should any of these come to have an income to this amount, such a part shall be awarded them as two persons, chosen for the purpose, may determine along with Don Diego, or his heirs. Thus it is to be understood that the million which I leave to Don Bartholomew comprehends the tenth of the whole revenue of the estate, which revenue is to be distributed among my nearest and most needy relations in the manner I have directed; and when Don Bartholomew have an income of one million, and that nothing more shall be due to him on account of said fourth part, then Don Diego my son, or the person who may be in possession of the estate, along with the two other persons which I shall herein point out, shall inspect the accounts, and so direct that the tenth of the revenue shall still continue to be paid to the most necessitous members of my family that may be found in this or any other quarter of the world, who shall be diligently sought out, and they are to be paid out of the fourth part from which Don Bartholomew is to derive his million; which sums are to be taken into account, and deducted from the said tenth, which should it amount to more, the overplus, as it arises from the fourth part, shall be given to the most necessitous persons as aforesaid; and should it not be sufficient, that Don Bartholomew shall have it until his own estate goes on increasing, leaving the said million in part or in the whole.

Item: The said Don Diego my son, or whoever may be the inheritor, shall appoint two persons of conscience and authority, and most nearly related to the family, who are

to examine the revenue and its amount carefully, and to cause the said tenth to be paid out of the fourth from which Don Bartholomew is to receive his million, to the most necessitated members of my family that may be found here or elsewhere, whom they shall look for diligently upon their consciences; and as it might happen that said Don Diego, or others after him, for reasons which may concern their own welfare or the credit and support of the estate, may be unwilling to make known the full amount of the income, nevertheless I charge him, on his conscience, to pay the sum aforesaid; and I charge them, on their souls and consciences, not to denounce or make it known, except with the consent of Don Diego or the person that may succeed him; but let the above tithe be paid in the manner I have directed.

Item: In order to avoid all disputes in the choice of the two nearest relations who are to act with Don Diego or his heirs, I hereby elect Don Bartholomew my brother for one, and Don Fernando my son for the other; and when these two shall enter upon the business, they shall choose two other persons among the most trusty and most nearly related, and these again shall elect two others when it shall be question of commencing the examination; and thus it shall be managed with diligence from one to the other, as well in this as in the other of government, for the service and glory of God and the benefit of the said entailed estate.

Item: I also enjoin Diego, or any one that may inherit the estate, to have and maintain, in the city of Genoa, one person of our lineage to reside there with his wife, and appoint him a sufficient revenue to enable him to live decently, as a person closely connected with the family, of

which he is to be the root and basis in that city; from which great good may accrue to him, inasmuch as I was born there, and came from thence.

Item: The said Don Diego, or whoever shall inherit the estate, must remit in bills, or in any other way, all such sums as he may be able to save out of the revenue of the estate, and direct purchases to be made in his name, or that of his heirs, in a stock in the Bank of St. George, which gives an interest of six per cent. and in secure money; and this shall be devoted to the purpose I am about to explain.

Item: As it becomes every man of property to serve God, either personally or by means of his wealth, and as all moneys deposited with St. George are quite safe, and Genoa is a noble city, and powerful by sea, and as at the time that I undertook to set out upon the discovery of the Indies it was with the intention of supplicating the king and queen, our lords, that whatever moneys should be derived from the said Indies should be invested in the conquest of Jerusalem, and as I did so supplicate them, if they do this, it will be well; if not, at all events, the said Diego, or such person as may succeed him in this trust, to collect together all the money he can, and accompany the king our lord, should he go to the conquest of Jerusalem, or else go there himself with all the force he can command; and in pursuing this intention, it will please the Lord to assist towards the accomplishment of the plan; and should he not be able to effect the conquest of the whole, no doubt he will achieve it in part. Let him therefore collect and make a fund of all his wealth in St. George of Genoa, and let it multiply there till such time as it may appear to him that something of consequence may be effected as respects

the project on Jerusalem; for I believe that, when their highnesses shall see that this is contemplated, they will wish to realize it themselves, or will afford him, as their servant and vassal, the means of doing it for them.

Item: I charge my son Diego and my descendants, especially whoever may inherit this estate, which consists, as aforesaid, of the tenth of whatsoever may be had or found in the Indies, and the eighth part of the lands and rents, all which, together with my rights and emoluments as admiral, viceroy, and governor, amount to more than twenty-five per cent., — I say, that I require of him to employ all this revenue, as well as his person and all the means in his power, in well and faithfully serving and supporting their highnesses, or their successors, even to the loss of life and property; since it was their highnesses, next to God, who first gave me the means of getting and achieving this property; although it is true I came over to these realms to invite them to the enterprise, and that a long time elapsed before any provision was made for carrying it into execution; which, however, is not surprising, as this was an undertaking of which all the world was ignorant, and no one had any faith in it; wherefore I am by so much the more indebted to them, as well as because they have since also much favored and promoted me.

Item: I also require of Diego, or whomsoever may be in possession of the estate, that in the case of any schism taking place in the church of God, or that any person of whatever class or condition should attempt to despoil it of its property and honors, they hasten to offer at the feet of his holiness, that is, if they are not heretics, (which God forbid!) their persons, power, and wealth, for the purpose of suppressing such schism and preventing any spoliation of the honor and property of the church.

Item: I command the said Diego, or whoever may possess the said estate, to labor and strive for the honor, welfare, and aggrandizement of the city of Genoa, and to make use of all his power and means in defending and enhancing the good and credit of that republic in all things not contrary to the service of the church of God, or the high dignity of our king and queen, our lords, and their successors.

Item: The said Diego, or whoever may possess or succeed to the estate, out of the fourth part of the whole revenue, from which, as aforesaid, is to be taken the tenth, when Don Bartholomew or his heirs shall have saved the two millions, or part of them, and when the time shall come of making a distribution among our relations, shall apply and invest the said tenth in providing marriages for such daughters of our lineage as may require it, and in doing all the good in their power.

Item: When a suitable time shall arrive, he shall order a church to be built in the Island of Hispaniola, and in the most convenient spot, to be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion; to which is to be annexed a hospital, upon the best possible plan, like those of Italy and Castile, and a chapel erected to say mass in for the good of my soul, and those of my ancestors and successors with great devotion, since no doubt it will please the Lord to give us a sufficient revenue for this and the aforementioned purposes.

Item: I also order Diego my son, or whomsoever may inherit after him, to spare no pains in having and maintaining in the Island of Hispaniola four good professors of theology, to the end and aim of their studying and laboring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and in proportion as, by God's will, the revenue

of the estate shall increase, in the same degree shall the number of teachers and devout increase, who are to strive to make Christians of the natives; in attaining which, no expense should be thought too great. And in commemoration of all that I hereby ordain, and of the foregoing, a monument of marble shall be erected in the said church of La Concepcion, in the most conspicuous place, to serve as a record of what I here enjoin on the said Diego, as well as to other persons who may look upon it; which marble shall contain an inscription to the same effect.

Item: I also require of Diego my son, and whomsoever may succeed him in the estate, that every time, and as often as he confesses, he first show this obligation, or a copy of it, to the confessor, praying him to read it through, that he may be enabled to inquire respecting its fulfilment; from which will redound great good and happiness to his soul.

S.
S. A. S.
X. M. Y.
EL ALMIRANTE. *

* This is the anagrammatic form, in which, according to the custom of his age, the Admiral gave his signature. The abbreviations signify — "*Christus, Sancta Maria, Yosephus,* or *Salve me, Xristus, Maria, Yosephus.*"

NO. II.

LETTER AND BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI. IN RELATION TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

[Translated from the *Ecclesiastical Annals of Cardinal Baronius*, A. D. 1493, by Rev. M. T. Gibson, of the diocese of Boston.]

Soon after the return of Columbus, a dispute arose between the Kings of Portugal and Spain concerning the empire of the ocean and the new world. The King of Portugal claimed the islands discovered by Columbus; but the King of Spain denied that he had any claim whatever on them. Pope Alexander VI. decided this dispute in favor of the latter, and asserted, by many and by ample diplomas, the right and empire of the new world to Ferdinand, and gave him the same prerogatives the popes had granted to the kings of Portugal over the western shores of Africa, Guinea, and the gold mines.

To our dearest son in Christ, Ferdinand, King, and to our dearest daughter in Christ, Isabella, Queen, of Castile Leon, Arragon, and Granada: Most illustrious health, &c.

The sincerity of your great devotion, and the perfect faith with which you reverence us and the Roman church, have richly deserved that we grant you those things by which you may be able to prosecute your holy and praise-

worthy designs, and the undertaking you have commenced, of searching remote and unknown islands and continents, with more ease, and in a better manner, for the honor of Almighty God, and propagation of the Christian empire, and exaltation of the Catholic faith.

Hence we this day give, grant, and assign all and each island and continent, remote and unknown, towards the west, situated in the sea and ocean, discovered or to be discovered by you, or persons sent by you, at great labor, danger, and expense, which are not under the actual temporal dominion of any Christian master, with all their domains, cities, ports, towns, villages, right and jurisdiction to you, and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, by our *motu proprio*, certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolic power, as are fully contained in our letters.

As to the kings of Portugal who discovered and took possession of certain parts of Africa, Guinea, and the gold mines, and other islands, even by a similar apostolic concession and donation made in their favor, divers privileges, favors, liberties, immunities, exemptions, faculties, letters, and *indulta* were granted; not wishing, as it was worthy and fit, that you and your heirs and successors aforementioned should not have less favors and prerogatives by a similar motive, not at the presentation of any petition by you, or any one for you, but from our pure liberality and certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolic power, to you and your heirs and successors aforementioned, that in the islands and lands by you or in your name discovered and to be discovered, all and each, favors, privileges, exemptions, letters, indults of this kind granted to the kings of Portugal, by the present letters we wish you to have the tenor of

all, as if they were here inserted word for word, and sufficiently expressed, that you may lawfully possess and enjoy; and you ought in all things, as if all those things were specially granted to you, your heirs and successors aforementioned, which by the authority and apostolic tenor of the present letters, by a gift of special favor, we grant; and those in all things and for all things to you, your heirs and successors aforementioned, we extend likewise and amplify, and to the same in due manner and form perpetually grant, notwithstanding constitutions and apostolic ordinances, and all those things which were granted in letters to the kings of Portugal.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, A. D. 1493, 5th of May, first year of our pontificate.

ALEXANDER VI.*

THE BULL "INTER CETERA DIVINÆ MAGISTRATE BENEPLACITA OPERA," &c.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD: *To our beloved son Ferdinand, King, and to our beloved daughter Isabella, Queen, of Castile, Leon, Arragon, the Sicilies, and Granada: Most illustrious personages, health and apostolic benediction.*

Among the many works pleasing to the divine Majesty and desirable to our hearts, this particularly prevails, that

* The illustrious civilian, Count Joseph de Maistre, in his work entitled "The Pope," thus speaks of this bull of Alexander:—

"A century before the time of the celebrated treaty of Westphalia, a pope, who presents in his own person a melancholy exception to that long series of virtues by which the holy see has been honored, published the famous bull which divided between the Spaniards and the

the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our times, may be exalted, amplified, and every where diffused, the salvation of souls procured, and barbarous nations subjugated and made obedient to the faith. Hence when we were raised by the divine clemency, though of little merit, to the holy chair of Peter, knowing you to be true Catholic kings and princes, as indeed we have always known you to be, and as you have also by your illustrious deeds made yourselves known as such to the whole world; nor did you merely desire to be such, but you have also used every effort, study, and diligence, sparing no fatigue, no cost, no danger, even shedding your own blood, and devoting your whole soul and all your energies to this purpose, as your conquest of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in our days, with such glory to the divine name, testifies; we are induced, not unworthily, and we ought, to grant to you those things favorably and spontaneously by which you may be able to prosecute this undertaking, so holy and praiseworthy to the immortal God, and that you may daily increase more

Portuguese those territories which the enterprising genius of discovery had already given, or might afterwards give, to the two nations in the Indies and in America. The finger of the pontiff traced a line on the globe, which the two nations agreed to consider as a sacred boundary, which ambition should respect on either side.

"Nothing more grand could have been witnessed than the two people thus submitting such differences as then existed between them, and such as might afterwards occur, to the disinterested decision of the common father of all the faithful, and so substituting the most imposing arbitration for interminable wars. It was a great happiness for humanity that the pontifical dignity had yet sufficient influence to obtain this remarkable consent; and the noble arbitration was so worthy of a true successor of St. Peter that the bull '*inter cetera*' ought to belong to another pontiff."

and more in fervor for the honor of God and the propagation of the kingdom of Christ.

We have heard to our great joy that you have proposed to labor and use every exertion, that the inhabitants of certain islands and continents remote, and hitherto unknown, and of others yet undiscovered, be reduced to worship our Redeemer and profess the Catholic faith. Till now you have been fully occupied in the conquest and capture of Granada, and could not accomplish your holy and praiseworthy desires nor obtain the results you wished. You sent, not without the greatest exertions, dangers, and expense, our beloved son Christopher Colon, a man of worth and much to be commended, fit for such business, with vessels and cargoes, diligently to search for continents and remote and unknown islands on a sea hitherto never navigated; who finally, with the divine assistance and great diligence, navigated the vast ocean, and discovered certain most distant islands and continents which were previously unknown, in which very many nations dwell peaceably, and, as it is said, go naked and abstain from animal food, and, as far as your ambassadors can conjecture, believe there is one God, Creator, in heaven, and seem sufficiently apt to embrace the Catholic faith, and might be imbued with good morals, and have every reason to believe that, if instructed, the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may easily be established in the said islands and continents; that in these islands and continents already have been found gold, spices, and many other articles of value of different kinds and qualities. Every thing being diligently considered, especially for the exaltation and diffusion of the Catholic faith, (as it behooveth Catholic kings and princes,) according to the cus-

tom of your ancestors, kings of illustrious memory, you have proposed to subjugate the aforementioned islands and continents, with their inhabitants, to yourselves, with the assistance of the divine goodness, and reduce them to the Catholic faith, and that the said Christopher Colon may construct and build a fortress on one of the principal islands of sufficient strength to protect certain Christians who may emigrate thither.

We therefore very much commend in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy intention; and that you may bring it to the proper end, and by it establish the name of our Lord in those parts, we strenuously exhort you in the Lord, and by your baptism, by which you are obligated to the apostolic mandates, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ we earnestly exact of you, that, when you undertake and assume an expedition of this kind, you do it with a humble spirit, and with zeal for the orthodox faith; and you must wish, and ought to induce, the people living in those islands and continents to receive the Christian religion; and let no dangers, no fatigues, at any time deter you, but entertain hope and faith that Almighty God may crown your efforts with happy success.

To enable you more freely and more boldly to assume the undertaking of such an enterprise, by the liberality of our apostolic favor, *motu proprio*, and not at your request, nor by the presentation of any petition to us on this subject for you, but of our pure liberality, and from the certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolic power, we grant to you and your heirs, and your successors, kings of Castile, Leon, &c., and by the present letters give forever, all the islands and continents discovered and to be

discovered, explored and to be explored, towards the west and south, forming and drawing a line from the arctic pole, that is the north, to the antarctic pole, that is the south, whether the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered lie towards India or towards any other part, which line is distant from one of the islands vulgarly called Azores y Cabo Verde one hundred leagues west and south; so that all the islands and continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, beyond the aforementioned line towards the west and south, not actually possessed by other kings or Christian princes before the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which the present year 1493 commences, when any of the said islands are discovered by your emissaries or captains, we, by the authority of Almighty God, given to us in St. Peter as vicar of Jesus Christ, which authority we exercise on earth, assign you and your heirs and said successors all the dominions over those states, places, and towns, with all rights, jurisdiction, and all their appurtenances, with full, free, and all power, authority, and jurisdiction. We make, constitute, and depute, discerning nevertheless by our donation concession and assignment of this kind, that the rights cannot be understood to be taken away from any Christian prince who actually possessed such islands or continents before the aforementioned day of Christ's nativity, nor are to be deprived of them.

We moreover command you, by virtue of holy obedience, (as you have promised, and we doubt not from your great devotion and royal magnanimity that you will do it,) that you send to the said islands and continents tried men, who fear God, learned and skilful, and expert to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good

morals, using proper diligence in the aforementioned things and we forbid every one, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, no matter what may be his dignity, — even imperial, royal, — state, order, or condition, to act contrary to this our mandate. And we severely forbid any one to go to the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, towards the west or south, beyond the line drawn from the arctic to the antarctic pole, one hundred leagues from one of the islands commonly called Azores y Cabo Verde, towards the west and south; and let no one, for trade or any other reason, presume to approach without your special license or that of your heirs and successors aforementioned, notwithstanding constitutions or apostolic ordinances, or any thing contrary to it; trusting God, from whom empires, and dominations, and all good things proceed, will direct your actions if you prosecute this holy and praiseworthy object — hoping that shortly your labors and efforts may obtain a most happy termination, and redound to the glory of all Christian people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1493, 9th of May, and first year of our pontificate.

ALEXANDER.

NO. III.

APOSTOLIC LETTER OF POPE PAUL III., A. D. 1537, DECLARING THE AMERICAN INDIANS TO BE RATIONAL CREATURES.

[One of the reverend fathers of Georgetown College, to whom I am indebted for this translation, writes me, in sending it, as follows: "I send you herewith a literal translation of it — I fear almost too literal a one. Still I think it is the kind of translation you wish, as it is as faithful as possibly could be made of the original, to have it any thing like English. The historians who speak of it improperly call it a bull; it is only an 'apostolical letter.' Hence I was not able to find it in the Bullarium. The only places in which it can be found, so far as I know, are Torquemado's *Monarchia Indica* and Clavigero's History of Mexico. The copy from which I had the accompanying translation made is from Clavigero's History of Mexico, English translation, vol. iii. p. 282, where it is given in a note."]

PAUL III., *pope, to all the faithful of Christ who shall see the present letters, health and apostolical benediction.*

Truth itself, which can neither deceive nor be deceived, when it appointed the preachers of faith to the office of preaching, is well known to have said, "*Going, teach all nations.*" He said *all*, without any choice; for all are capable of receiving the instruction of the faith. The enemy of mankind, who ever opposes good undertakings in order to

bring them to nought, aware of this commission, and instigated by envy, invented a method, hitherto unknown, of preventing the word of God from being preached to nations that they might be saved. As he has excited some of his satellites, who, eagerly desiring to satisfy their avarice, habitually *presume* to assert that the western and southern Indians and the other nations, which in these times have come to our knowledge, under the pretext that they were devoid of the Catholic faith, should, like brutes, be brought under our servitude; and indeed they are enslaved and treated with such inhumanity that their masters would scarcely exercise similar cruelty upon the very brutes that serve them: We, therefore, who, though unworthy, are the vicegerent of our Lord upon earth, and who seek with our whole endeavor the sheep of his flock intrusted to us which are outside of his fold, in order to bring them into the fold itself, reflecting that these Indians, as true men, are not only capable of the Christian faith, but also, as has been made known to us, that they embrace the faith with the utmost promptitude, and wishing to provide them with suitable remedies, decree and declare by apostolical authority that the above-mentioned Indians and all other nations who may in future come to the knowledge of Christians, though they be out of the faith of Christ, can freely and lawfully use, possess, and enjoy their liberty and dominion in that regard, and that they ought not to be reduced to slavery, and that whatever may otherwise have been done is null and void. Moreover, that those Indians and other nations are to be invited to the aforesaid faith of Christ by the preaching of the word of God and by the example of a good life.

This decree is to hold good, notwithstanding any previous acts and whatsoever else to the contrary.

Given at Rome, IV. non., June, 1537, the third year of our pontificate.

NO. IV.

SPANISH FORM OF TAKING POSSESSION.

[The Spanish form of taking possession seems to have been first the form of prayer cited at page 20, and next a proclamation, substantially agreeing with the following, which was that introduced by the celebrated Alonzo de Ojeda.]

I, ALONZO DE OJEDA, servant of the high and mighty Kings of Castile and Leon, civilizers of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify and make known to you, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all the people of the earth were and are descendants, procreated, and all those who shall come after us; but the vast number of generations which have proceeded from them, in the course of more than five thousand years that have elapsed since the creation of the world, made it necessary that some of the human race should disperse in one direction, and some in another, and that they should divide themselves into many kingdoms and provinces, as they could not sustain and preserve themselves in one alone. All these people were given in charge, by God our Lord, to one person, named St. Peter, who was thus made lord and superior of all the people of the earth, and head of the whole

human lineage; whom all should obey, wherever they might live, and whatever might be their law, sect, or belief. He gave him also the whole world for his service and jurisdiction; and though he desired that he should establish his chair in Rome, as a place most convenient for governing the world, yet he permitted that he might establish his chair in any other part of the world, and judge and govern all the nations, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and whatever other sect or belief might be. This person was denominated pope, — that is to say, admirable, supreme, father, and guardian, — because he is father and governor of all mankind. This holy father was obeyed and honored, as lord, king, and superior of the universe, by those who lived in his time, and in like manner have been obeyed and honored all those who have been elected to the pontificate; and thus it has continued unto the present day, and will continue until the end of the world.

One of these pontiffs of whom I have spoken, as lord of the world, made a donation of these islands and continents of the ocean sea, and all that they contain, to the Catholic kings of Castile, who at that time were Ferdinand and Isabella of glorious memory, and to their successors, our sovereigns, according to the tenor of certain papers drawn up for the purpose, (which you may see, if you desire.) Thus his majesty is king and sovereign of these islands and continents by virtue of the said donation; and, as king and sovereign, certain islands, and almost all, to whom this has been notified, have received his majesty, and have obeyed and served, and do actually serve him. And moreover, like good subjects, and with good will, and without any resistance or delay, the moment they were informed of the foregoing, they obeyed all the religious

men sent among them to preach and teach our holy faith; and these of their free and cheerful will, without any condition or reward, became Christians, and continue so to be. And his majesty received them kindly and benignantly, and ordered that they should be treated like his other subjects and vassals. You also are required and obliged to do the same. Therefore, in the best manner I can, I pray and entreat you that you consider well what I have said, and that you take whatever time is reasonable to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you recognize the church for sovereign and superior of the universal world, and the supreme pontiff, called pope, in her name, and his majesty, in his place, as superior and sovereign king of the islands and terra firma by virtue of said donation, and that you consent that these religious fathers declare and preach to you the foregoing. And if you shall so do, you will do well, and will do that to which you are bounden and obliged; and his majesty, and I in his name, will receive you with all due love and charity, and will leave you your wives and children free from servitude, that you may freely do with them and with yourselves whatever you please and think proper, as have done the inhabitants of the other islands. And besides this, his majesty will give you many privileges and exemptions, and grant you many favors. If you do not do this, or wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, by the aid of God, I will forcibly invade and make war upon you in all parts and modes that I can, and will subdue you to the yoke and obedience of the church and of his majesty; and I will take your wives and children and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and dispose of them as his majesty may command; and I will take your effects, and

will do you all the harm and injury in my power, as vassals who will not obey or receive their sovereign, and who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and disasters which may in this manner be occasioned will be the fault of yourselves, and not of his majesty, nor of me, nor of these cavaliers who accompany me. And of what I here tell you, and require of you, I call upon the notary here present to give me his signed testimonial.

NO. V.

THE JESUITS IN CANADA.

[For the services of the Jesuits in Canada to the cause of Indian civilization, before their suppression by France, I refer the reader to the following testimonies, gathered together in Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, vol. ii. p. 276.]

"The Jesuits are commonly very learned, studious, and are very civil and agreeable in company. In their whole deportment there is something pleasing; it is no wonder, therefore, that they captivate the minds of the people. They seldom speak of religious matters; and if it happens, they generally avoid disputes. They are very ready to do any one a service; and when they see that their assistance is wanted, they hardly give one time to speak of it, falling to work immediately to bring about what is required of them. Their conversation is very entertaining and learned, so that one cannot be tired of their company. Among all the Jesuits I have conversed with in Canada, I have not found one who was not possessed of these qualities in a very eminent degree. They do not care to become preachers to a congregation in the town or country, but leave these places, together with the emoluments arising from them, to the priests. All their business here is to convert the heathen; and with that view their missionaries

are scattered over every part of the country. Near every town and village peopled by converted Indians are one or two Jesuits, who take great care that they may not return to paganism, but live as Christians ought to do. Thus there are Jesuits with the converted Indians in Tadoussac, Lorette, Beçancourt, St. François, Sault St. Louis, and all over Canada. There are likewise Jesuit missionaries with those who are not converted, so that there is commonly a Jesuit in every village belonging to the Indians, whom he endeavors on all occasions to convert. In winter he goes on their great hunts, where he is frequently obliged to suffer all imaginable inconveniences, such as walking in the snow all day, lying in the open air all winter, lying out both in good and bad weather, lying in the Indian huts, which swarm with fleas and other vermin, &c. The Jesuits undergo all these hardships for the sake of converting the Indians, and likewise for political reasons. The Jesuits are of great use to their king; for they are frequently able to persuade the Indians to break their treaty with the English, to make war upon them, to bring their furs to the French, and not to permit the English to come among them. There is much danger attending these exertions; for, when the Indians are in liquor, they sometimes kill the missionaries who live with them, calling them spies, or excusing themselves by saying that the brandy had killed them. These are the chief occupations of the Jesuits in Canada. They do not go to visit the sick in the town; they do not hear the confessions, and attend to no funerals. I have never seen them go in procession in honor of the Virgin Mary or other saints. Every body sees they are, as it were, selected from other people on account of their superior genius and abilities. They are

here reckoned a most cunning set of people, who generally succeed in their undertakings, and surpass all others in acuteness of understanding. I have therefore several times observed that they have enemies in Canada. They never receive any others into their society but persons of very promising parts, so that there are no blockheads among them. The Jesuits who live here are all come from France, and many of them return thither again after a stay of a few years here. Some who were born in Canada went over to France, and were received among the Jesuits there, but none of them ever came back to Canada. I know not what political reason hindered them. During my stay in Quebec, one of the priests, with the bishop's leave, gave up his priesthood and became a Jesuit. The other priests were very ill pleased with this, because it seemed as if he looked upon their condition as too mean for himself." — *Kalm, in Pinkerton*, vol. xiii. p. 648.

"The Recollets are a third class of clergymen in Canada. They have a fine large dwelling house here, and a fine church where they officiate. Near it is a large and fine garden, which they cultivate with great application.

"In Montreal and Trois Rivières they are lodged in almost the same manner as here. They do not endeavor to choose cunning fellows among them, but take all they can get. They do not torment their brains with much learning; and I have been assured that, after they have put on their monastic habit, they do not study to increase their knowledge, but forget even what little they knew before. At night they generally lie on mats, or some other hard mattresses. However, I have sometimes seen good beds in the cells of some of them. They have no possessions

here, having made vows of poverty, and live chiefly on the alms which people give them. To this purpose the young monks, or brothers, go into the houses with a bag, and beg what they want. They have no congregation in the country, but sometimes they go among the Indians as missionaries.

"In each fort, which contains forty men, the king keeps one of these monks instead of a priest, who officiates there. The king gives him lodging, provisions, servants, and all he wants, besides two hundred livres a year. Half of it he sends to the community he belongs to; the other half he reserves for his own use. On board the king's ships are generally no other priests than these friars, who are therefore looked upon as people belonging to the king. When one of the chief priests * in the country dies, and his place cannot immediately be filled up, they send one of these friars there to officiate while the place is vacant. Part of these monks come over from France, and part are natives of Canada.

"There are no other monks in Canada besides these, except now and then one of the order of St. Austin, or other who comes with one of the king's ships, but goes off with it again.

"The priests are the second and most numerous class of the clergy in this country; for most of the churches, both in towns and villages, (the Indian converts excepted,) are served by priests. A few of them are likewise missionaries. In Canada are two seminaries: one in Quebec, the other in Montreal. The priests of the seminary of Montreal are of the order of St. Sulpitius, and supply only the

* Pasteur.

congregation on the Isle of Montreal and the town of the same name. At all the other churches in Canada the priests belonging to the Quebec seminary officiate. The former, or those of the order of St. Sulpitius, all come from France; and I was assured that they never suffer a native of Canada to come among them.

"In the seminary at Quebec, the natives of Canada make the greater part.

"In order to fit the children of this country for orders, there are schools at Quebec and St. Joachim, where the youths are taught Latin, and instructed in the knowledge of those things and sciences which have a more immediate connection with the business they are intended for.

"However, they are not very nice in their choice, and people of a middling capacity are often received among them.

"They do not seem to have made great progress in Latin; for, notwithstanding the service is read in that language, and they read their Latin breviary and other books every day, yet most of them find it very difficult to speak it.

"All the priests in the Quebec seminary are consecrated by the bishop. Both the seminaries have got great revenues from the king; that in Quebec has above thirty thousand livres. All the country on the west side of the River St. Lawrence, from the town of Quebec to Bay St. Paul, belongs to this seminary, besides their other possessions in the country. They lease the land to the settlers for a certain rent, which if it be annually paid according to their agreement, the children or heirs of the settlers may remain in an undisturbed possession of the lands.

"A piece of land three arpents * broad, and thirty, forty, or fifty arpents long, pays annually an écu,† and a couple of chickens, or some other additional trifle. In such places as have convenient waterfalls they have built watermills or sawmills, from which they annually get considerable sums. The seminary of Montreal possesses the whole ground on which that town stands, together with the whole Isle of Montreal. I have been assured that the ground rent of the town and isle is computed at seventy thousand livres, besides what they get for saying masses, baptizing, holding confessions, attending at marriages and funerals, &c. All the revenues of ground rent belong to the seminaries alone, and the priests in the country have no share in them. But the seminary in Montreal, consisting only of sixteen priests, has greater revenues than it can expend; a large sum of money is annually sent over to France to the chief seminary there. The land rents belonging to the Quebec seminary are employed for the use of the priests in it, and for the maintenance of a number of young people who are brought up to take orders. The priests who live in the country parishes get the tithe from their congregation, together with the perquisites on visiting the sick, &c. In small congregations, the king gives the priests an additional sum. When a priest in the country grows old, and has done good service, he is sometimes allowed to come into the seminary in town. The seminaries are allowed to place the priests on their own estates, but the other places are in the gift of the bishop." — *Ibid.*

* A French acre.

† A French coin, value about a crown English.

"After the conquest of Quebec, the British government prohibited the religious male orders from augmenting their numbers, excepting the priests. The orders were allowed to enjoy the whole of their revenues as long as a single individual of the body existed; then they reverted to the crown. The revenue of the Jesuit Society was upward of twelve thousand pounds per annum when it fell into the possession of the government. It had been for several years enjoyed solely by an old father, who had survived all the rest. He was a native of Switzerland; his name, Jean Joseph Casot. In his youth he was no more than porter to the convent; but, having considerable merit, he was promoted, and in course of time received into the order. He died at a very advanced age, in 1800, with a high character for kindness and generosity: his large income was entirely employed in charitable purposes. The lands belonging to the Jesuits, as well as to the other religious orders, are by far the best in the country, and produce the greatest revenues." — *Lambert's Travels in Canada*, vol. i. p. 59.

"The Jesuits, who in the early settlement of the country were merely missionaries, obtained a patent (*Petits Droits des Colonies Françaises*, vol. ii. p. 441) by which they acquired a license to purchase lands and hold property as in France. The property the Jesuits possessed in this country in after times was acquired by grants from the kings of France; by grants from the Company of New France; by gifts from individuals; and by purchase." — *Smith's History of Canada*, vol. i. p. 27; *Weld*, p. 249. Smith estimates the revenues of the society, when, after P. Casot's death, they reverted to the crown, at only sixteen hundred pounds per annum. Weld comes nearer to

the statement of Lambert. He visited Quebec in 1796, four years before P. Casot's death, and states that the great possessions of the Jesuits had centred in him, and amounted to ten thousand pounds per annum. It is to be remembered that in 1764 the order of Jesuits was abolished by the King of France, and the members of the society became private individuals.

"The college of the Jesuits at Quebec was long considered as the first institution on the continent of North America for the instruction of young men. The advantages derived from it were not limited to the better class of Canadians, but were extended to all whose inclination it was to participate in them; and many students came thither from the West Indies. From the period of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the states of Europe, and the consequent abolition of their order on that continent, this establishment, although protected by the British government, began rapidly to decline.

"When, by the death of the last Canadian Jesuit, the landed property devolved to the crown, it was designed by the sovereign as a recompense for the services of the late Lord Amherst, who commanded the troops in North America at the time of the conquest of Canada, and who completed the reduction of that province under the British government. The claim of these estates has been relinquished by his successor for a pension. The revenue arising from them has been appropriated by the legislature of Lower Canada for the purpose of establishing in the different parishes schools for the education of children. The Jesuits' college is now converted into a commodious barrack for the troops." — *Heriot's Canada*, p. 30.

NO. VI.

ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF AMERICA TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, AND HIS REPLY.

[After Washington's accession to the presidency, the corporate bodies, civil societies, &c., presented him addresses of congratulation. For the following address and reply, we are indebted to Benjamin Russell's *Legacies of Washington*, (Boston, 1801;) also to Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. xii.]

SIR: We have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence on your being called, by a unanimous vote, to the first station of a country in which that unanimity could not have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom, and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented the communication and the collecting of those sentiments which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those who commit their protection into your hands. In war you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility; in peace you establish public tranquillity

by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigor, of your government. By example, as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow-citizens. You encourage respect for religion, and inculcate, by words and actions, that principle on which the welfare of nations so much depends — that a superintending Providence governs the events of the world and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature; she improves agriculture, extends her commerce, and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure by recollecting that you, sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well-founded title to claim from her justice the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct — rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them where they have been granted, and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those states which still restrict them, when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither admit, nor can omit, recommending your preservation to the singu-

lar care of divine Providence, because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues.

In behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy,

J. CARROLL.

In behalf of the Roman Catholic laity,

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton,
DANIEL CARROLL,
THOMAS FITZSIMMONS,
DOMINICK LYNCH.

To which Washington returned an answer as follows: —

THE ANSWER TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

GENTLEMEN: While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by a unanimous vote to the first station of my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure which I would otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have

been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance in a great degree resulting from the able support and extraordinary candor of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of a divine Providence, the protection of a good government, and the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality; and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favorable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct; and may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of

Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

G. WASHINGTON.

NO. VII.

[From Bishop Kip's "Jesuits in America."]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BLESSED CATHARINE TEGAHKOUITA, ILLUSTRATING THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF OUR INDIANS.

FATHER COLOMBIERE'S LETTER.

THE marvels which God is working every day, through the intercession of a young Iroquois female who has lived and died among us in the odor of sanctity, have induced me to inform you of the particulars of her life, although you have not pressed me in your letters to enter into detail. You have yourself been a witness of these marvels when you discharged there with so much zeal the duties of a missionary; and you know that the high prelate who governs this church, touched by the prodigies with which God has deigned to honor the memory of this holy maiden, has with reason called her the Geneviève of New France. All the French who are in the colonies, as well as the Indians, hold her in singular veneration. They come from a great distance to pray at her tomb; and many, by her intercession, have been immediately cured of their maladies, and have received from Heaven other extraordinary favors. I will write you nothing, my reverend father, which I have not myself seen during the time she was under my care, or which I have not learned

of the missionary who conferred on her the rite of holy baptism.

Tegahkouita (which is the name of this sainted female about whom I am going to inform you) was born in the year 1656, at Gandaouagué, one of the settlements of the lower Iroquois, who are called *Agniez*. Her father was an Iroquois and a heathen; her mother, who was a Christian, was an Algonquin, and had been baptized at the village of Trois Rivières, where she was brought up among the French. During the time that we were at war with the Iroquois she was taken prisoner by these Indians, and remained a captive in their country. We have since learned that thus, in the very bosom of heathenism, she preserved her faith even to her death. By her marriage she had two children, one son and one daughter, the latter of whom is the subject of this narrative, but she had the pain to die without having been able to procure for them the grace of baptism. The small pox, which ravaged the Iroquois country, in a few days removed her husband, her son, and herself. Tegahkouita was also attacked like the others, but she did not sink as they did under the violence of the disease. Thus, at the age of four years, she found herself an orphan, under the care of her aunts, and in the power of an uncle who was the leading man in the settlement.

The small pox had injured her eyes; and this infirmity having rendered her incapable of enduring the glare of light, she remained during whole days shut up in her wigwam. By degrees she began to love this seclusion, and at length that became her taste which she had at first endured only from necessity. This inclination for retirement, so contrary to the usual spirit of the young Iroquois, was the

principal cause of her preserving her innocence of life while living in such scenes of corruption.

When she was a little older, she occupied herself at home in rendering to her aunts all those services of which she was capable, and which were in accordance with her sex. She ground the corn, went in search of water, and carried the wood; for such, among these Indians, are the ordinary employments of females. The rest of her time she spent in the manufacture of little articles, for which she possessed an extraordinary skill. By this means she avoided two rocks which would have been equally fatal to her innocence — idleness, so common there among her own sex, and which is the source of an infinite number of vices; and the extreme passion they have to spend their time in gossiping visits, and to show themselves in public places where they can display their finery; for it is not necessary to believe that this kind of vanity is confined to civilized nations. The females of our Indians, and especially the young girls, have a great taste for parading their ornaments, some of which they esteem very precious. Their finery consists of cloths which they buy of the Europeans, mantles of fur, and different kinds of shells, with which they cover themselves from head to foot. They have also bracelets, and collars, and pendants for the ears, and belts. They adorn even their moccasons, for these personal ornaments constitute all their riches; and it is in this way, by the different kinds of garments, that they mark their rank among themselves.

The young Tegahkouita had naturally a distaste for all this finery, which was appropriate to her sex; but she could not oppose the persons who stood to her in the place of father and mother; and to please them, she had sometimes

recourse to these vain ornaments. But after she became a Christian she looked back upon it as a great sin, and expiated this compliance of which she had been guilty by a severe penance and almost continual tears.

M. de Thracy, having been sent by the government to bring to reason the Iroquois nations who laid waste our colonies, carried the war into their country, and burned three villages of the Agniez. This expedition spread terror among the Indians, and they acceded to the terms of peace which were offered them. Their deputies were well received by the French, and a peace concluded to the advantage of both nations.

We availed ourselves of this occasion, which seemed a favorable one, to send missionaries to the Iroquois. They had already gained some smattering of the gospel, which had been preached to them by Father Jogues, and particularly those of Onnontagué, among whom this father had fixed his residence. It is well known that this missionary received there that recompense of martyrdom which well befitted his zeal. The Indians at first held him in a severe captivity and mutilated his fingers, and it was only by a kind of miracle that he was able for a time to escape their fury. It seemed, however, that his blood was destined to be the seed of Christianity in that heathen land; for, having had the courage, in the following year, to return for the purpose of continuing his mission among these people who had treated him so inhumanly, he finished his apostolic career amid the torments they forced him to endure.*

* The history of Father Isaac Jogues is full of romantic interest. He was the first to carry the cross into Michigan and among the villages of the Mohawks. On his return from the Falls of St. Mary, escorted by some Huron braves, they were taken by a war party of the

The works of his two companions were crowned by the same kind of death; and it is without doubt to the blood of these first apostles of the Iroquois nation that we must ascribe the blessings which God poured out on the zeal of those who succeeded them in this evangelical ministry.

The Father Fremin, the Father Bruyas, and the Father Pierron, who knew the language of the country, were chosen to accompany the Iroquois deputies, and on the part of the French to confirm the peace which had been granted them. They committed also to the missionaries the presents which the governor made, that it might facilitate their entrance into these barbarous regions. They happened to arrive there at a time when these people are accustomed to plunge into all kinds of debauchery, and found no one, therefore, in a fit state to receive them. This unseasonable period, however, procured for the young Tegahkouita the advantage of knowing early those of whom God wished to make use to conduct her to the highest degree of perfection. She was charged with the task of

Mohawks. His companions were all put to death with the usual attendants of savage cruelty, but not before Jogues had baptized two of them, who were neophytes, with some drops of water he found clinging to the broad blade of an ear of Indian corn they had thrown to him. After suffering every cruelty, and being obliged to run the gantlet through three villages, he was, in 1642, ransomed by the Dutch at Albany and set at liberty. He then sailed for France, to obtain permission from the pope to celebrate the divine mysteries with his mutilated hands. The pope granted his prayer, saying, "Indignum esset Christi martyrum Christi non libere sanguinem." On his return to the Mohawks for the second time, he was at once received as a prisoner and condemned to death as an enchanter. He approached the cabin where the death festival was kept, and, as he entered, received the deathblow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, and his body thrown into the Mohawk River. — *Bancroft*, vol. iii. p. 138.

lodging the missionaries and attending to their wants. The modesty and sweetness with which she acquitted herself of this duty touched her new guests; while she on her part was struck with their affable manners, their regularity in prayer, and the other exercises into which they divided the day. God even then disposed her to the grace of baptism, which she would have requested if the missionaries had remained longer in her village.

The third day after their arrival they were sent for to *Tionnontoquen*, where their reception was to take place: it was very pompous. Two of the missionaries established themselves in this village, while the third commenced a mission in the village of *Onneiout*, which is more than thirty leagues distant in the country. The next year they formed a third mission at *Annontagué*. The fourth was established at *Tsonnontouan*, and the fifth at the village of *Goiogoen*. The natives of the *Agniez* and the *Tsonnontouans* are very numerous, and separated in many different villages, which is the reason why they were obliged to increase the number of the missionaries.

At length Tegahkouita became of a marriageable age, and her relations were anxious to find a husband for her; because, according to the custom of the country, the game which the husband kills in the chase is appropriated to the benefit of his wife and the other members of her family. But the young Iroquois had inclinations very much opposed to the designs of her relations. She had a great love of purity even before she knew the excellence of this virtue, and any thing which could soil it ever so little impressed her with horror. When, therefore, they proposed to establish her in life, she excused herself under different pretexts, alleging above all her extreme youth, and the little inclination she had to enter into marriage.

The relatives seemed to approve of these reasons; but a little while after they resolved to betroth her when she least expected it, and without even allowing her a choice in the person to whom she was to be united. They, therefore, cast their eyes upon a young man whose alliance appeared desirable, and made the proposition both to him and to the members of his family. The matter being settled on both sides, the young man in the evening entered the wigwam which was destined for him and seated himself near her. It is thus that marriages are made among the Indians; and although these heathen extend their dissoluteness and licentiousness to the greatest excess, there is yet no nation which in public guards so scrupulously that outward decorum which is the attendant of perfect modesty. A young man would be forever dishonored if he should stop to converse publicly with a young female. Whenever marriage is in agitation the business is to be settled by the parents, and the parties most interested are not even permitted to meet. It is sufficient that they are talking of the marriage of a young Indian with a young female to induce them with care to shun seeing and speaking with each other. When the parents on both sides have agreed, the young man comes by night to the wigwam of his future spouse and seats himself near her; which is the same as declaring that he takes her for his wife and she takes him for her husband.

Tegahkouita appeared utterly disconcerted when she saw the young man seated by her side. She at first blushed, and then, rising abruptly, went forth indignantly from the wigwam; nor would she reënter until the young man left it. This firmness rendered her relatives outrageous. They considered that they had in this way

received an insult, and resolved that they would not be disappointed. They, therefore, attempted other stratagems, which served only to show more clearly the firmness of their niece.

Artifice not having proved successful, they had recourse to violence. They now treated her as a slave, obliging her to do every thing which was most painful and repulsive, and malignantly interpreting all her actions, even when most innocent. They reproached her without ceasing for the want of attachment to her relations, her uncouth manners, and her stupidity; for it was thus that they termed the dislike she felt to marriage. They attributed it to a secret hatred of the Iroquois nation, because she was herself of the Algonquin race. In short, they omitted no means of shaking her constancy.

The young girl suffered all this ill treatment with unwearied patience, and without ever losing any thing of her equanimity of mind or her natural sweetness; she rendered them all the services they required with an attention and docility beyond her years and strength. By degrees her relatives were softened, restored to her their kind feelings, and did not further molest her in regard to the course she had adopted.

At this very time Father Jacques de Lamberville was conducted by Providence to the village of our young Iroquois, and received orders from his superiors to remain there; although it seemed most natural that he should go on to join his brother, who had charge of the mission to the Iroquois of *Onnontagué*. Tegahkouita did not fail to be present at the instructions and prayers which took place every day in the chapel; but she did not dare to disclose the design she had for a long time formed, of becom-

ing a Christian; perhaps because she was restrained by fear of her uncle, in whose power she entirely was, and who, from interested motives, had joined in the opposition to the Christians; perhaps because modesty itself rendered her too timid, and prevented her from discovering her sentiments to the missionary.

But at length the occasion of her declaring her desire for baptism presented itself when she least expected it. A wound which she had received in the foot detained her in the village whilst the greater part of the women were in the fields gathering the harvest of Indian corn. The missionary had selected this time to go his rounds and instruct at his leisure those who were remaining in the wigwams. He entered that of Tegahkouita. This good girl, on seeing him, was not able to restrain her joy. She at once began to open her heart to him, even in presence of her companions, on the earnest desire she had to be admitted into the fold of the Christians. She disclosed also the obstacles she had been obliged to surmount on the part of her family, and in this first conversation showed a courage above her sex. The goodness of her temper, the vivacity of her spirit, her simplicity and candor caused the missionary to believe that one day she would make great progress in virtue. He, therefore, applied himself particularly to instruct her in the truths of Christianity, but did not think he ought to yield so soon to her entreaties; for the grace of baptism should not be accorded to adults, and particularly in this country, but with great care, and after a long probation. All the winter, therefore, was employed in her instruction and a rigid investigation of her manner of life.

It is surprising that, notwithstanding the propensity

these Indians have for slander, and particularly those of her own sex, the missionary did not find any one but gave a high encomium to the young catechumen. Even those who had persecuted her most severely were not backward in giving their testimony to her virtue. He, therefore, did not hesitate any longer to administer to her the holy baptism which she asked with so much godly earnestness. She received it on Easter day, in the year 1676, and was named Catharine; and it is thus that I shall call her in the rest of this letter.

The only care of the young neophyte was now to fulfil the engagements she had contracted. She did not wish to restrict herself to the observance of common practices, for she felt that she was called to a more perfect life. Besides the public instructions, at which she was present punctually, she requested also particular ones for the regulation of her private and secret life. Her prayers, her devotions, and her penances were arranged with the utmost exactness, and she was so docile to form herself according to the plan of perfection which had been marked out for her that in a little time she became a model of virtue.

In this manner several months passed away very peaceably. Even her relations did not seem to disapprove of the new course of life which she was leading. But the Holy Spirit has warned us, by the mouth of Wisdom, that the faithful soul which begins to unite itself to God should prepare for temptation; and this was verified in the case of Catharine. Her extraordinary virtue drew upon her the persecutions even of those who admired her. They looked upon a life so pure as being a tacit reproach to their own irregularities; and, with the design of discrediting it, they endeavored by divers artifices to throw a taint

upon its purity. But the confidence which the neophyte had in God, the distrust she felt of herself, her constancy in prayer, and that delicacy of conscience which made her dread even the shadow of a sin, gave her a perfect victory over the enemies of her innocence.

The exactness with which she observed the festival days at the chapel was the cause of another storm which came upon her on the part of her relations. The chaplet recited by two choirs is an exercise of these holy days; this kind of psalmody awakens the attention of the neophytes and animates their devotions. They execute the hymns and sacred canticles which our Indians chant with much exactness and harmony; for they have a fine ear, a good voice, and a rare taste for music. Catharine never omitted this exercise; but they took it ill in the wigwam that on these days she abstained from going to work with the others in the field. At length they came to bitter words — cast upon her the reproach that Christianity had made her effeminate and accustomed her to an indolent life; they did not even allow her any thing to eat, to oblige her, by means of famine, to follow her relations and to aid in their labor. The neophyte bore with constancy their reproach and contempt, and preferred in those days to do without nourishment, rather than violate the law which required the observance of these festivals, or to omit these ordinary practices of piety.

This firmness, which nothing could shake, irritated more and more her heathen relatives. Whenever she went to the chapel they caused her to be followed with showers of stones by drunken people, or those who feigned to be so; so that, to avoid their insults, she was often obliged to take the most circuitous paths. This extended even to the

children, who pointed their fingers at her, cried after her, and, in derision, called her "the Christian." One day, when she had retired to her wigwam, a young man entered abruptly, his eyes sparkling with rage, and a hatchet in his hand, which he raised as if to strike her. Perhaps he had no other design than to frighten her. But, whatever might have been the Indian's intentions, Catharine contented herself with modestly bowing her head, without showing the least emotion. This intrepidity, so little expected, astonished the Indian to such a degree that he immediately took to flight, as if he had been himself terrified by some invisible power.

It was in such trials of her patience and piety that Catharine spent the summer and autumn which followed her baptism. The winter brought her a little more tranquillity; but, nevertheless, she was not freed from suffering some crosses on the part of one of her aunts. This woman, who was of a deceitful and dangerous spirit, could not endure the regular life of her niece, and therefore constantly condemned her, even in actions and words the most indifferent. It is a custom among these Indians that uncles give the name of daughters to their nieces, and the nieces reciprocally call their uncles by the name of father. Hence it happens that cousins-german are commonly called brothers. It happened, however, once or twice, that Catharine called the husband of her aunt by his proper name, and not by that of father; but it was entirely owing to mistake or want of thought. Yet this evil spirit did not need any thing further as the foundation on which to build up a most atrocious calumny. She pretended to believe that this manner of expressing herself, which seemed to her so familiar, was an evidence of criminal intimacy,

and immediately went to seek the missionary, to decry her to him, and destroy in his mind those sentiments of esteem which he had always entertained for the neophyte. "Well!" she said, at once; "so Catharine, whom you esteem so virtuous, is notwithstanding a hypocrite who deceives you. Even in my presence she solicited my husband to sin." The missionary, who understood the evil spirit of this woman, wished to know on what she founded an accusation of this kind; and having learned what had given occasion to this odious suspicion, he administered to her a severe reprimand, and sent her away utterly confounded. When he afterwards mentioned it to the neophyte, she answered him with a candor and confidence which showed the absence of all falsehood. It was on this occasion that she declared,—what, perhaps, we should not have known if she had not been placed on this trial,—that by the kindness of the Lord she could not remember that she had ever stained the purity of her person, and that she did not fear receiving any reproach on this point in the day of judgment.

It was sad for Catharine to have to sustain so many conflicts, and to see her innocence exposed without cessation to the outrages and railleries of her countrywomen. And in other respects she had every thing to fear in a country where so few of the people had imbibed a taste for the maxims of the gospel. She, therefore, earnestly desired to be transplanted to some other mission, where she might serve God in peace and liberty. This was the subject of her most fervent prayers, and it was also the advice of the missionary; but it was not easy to bring about. She was entirely in the power of an uncle watchful of all her actions, and, through the aversion he had for

Christians, incapable of appreciating her resolution. But God, who listens favorably even to the simple desires of those who place their trust in him, disposed all things for the repose and consolation of the neophyte.

A colony of Iroquois had lately been formed among the French, the peace which existed between the two nations having given these Indians an opportunity of coming to hunt on our lands. Many of them stopped near the prairie of the Madeleine, where the missionaries of our society who dwelt there met them, and at different times conversed with them on the necessity of salvation. God at the same time influencing their hearts by the impressions of his grace, these Indians found themselves suddenly changed, and listened without objection to the proposition that they should renounce their country and settle among us. They received baptism after the usual instructions and probation.

The example and devotion of these new converts drew to them many of their countrymen, and in a few years the mission of *St. Francis Xavier du Sault* (for it was thus that it was named) became celebrated for the great number of its neophytes and their extraordinary fervor. If an Iroquois had made these a visit ever so short, even though he had no other design but to see his relatives or friends, he seemed to lose entirely the desire to return to his own country. The charity of these neophytes led them even to divide with the new comers the fields which they had cleared with much labor; but the way in which this feeling appeared to the greatest advantage was in the eagerness they showed in instructing them in the truths of our faith. To this work they devoted entire days, and even a portion of the night. Their conversations, full of unction

and piety, made the most lively impression on the hearts of their guests, and transformed them, so to speak, into different beings. He who a little while before breathed of nothing but blood and war, became softened, humble, teachable, and ready to obey the most difficult maxims of our religion.

This zeal did not restrict itself to those who came to visit them, but induced them also to make excursions into the different settlements of their nation, and they always returned accompanied by a large number of their countrymen. On the very day that Catharine received baptism, one of the most powerful of the *Agniez* returned to the mission in company with thirty of the Iroquois of that tribe whom he had gained to Jesus Christ. The neophyte would very willingly have followed him; but she depended, as I have said before, on an uncle who did not see without sorrow the depopulation of his village, and who openly declared himself the enemy of those who thought of going to live among the French.

It was not until the follwing year that she obtained the facilities she wished for the execution of her design. She had an adopted sister, who had retired with her husband to the Mission du Sault. The zeal of the recent converts to draw their relatives and friends to the new colony inspired her with the same thoughts with regard to Catharine; and, disclosing her designs to her husband, he gave his consent. He joined himself, therefore, to an Indian of Loretto and some other neophytes, who, under cover of going to trade in beaver skins with the English, travelled to the villages of the Iroquois, with the intention of engaging their acquaintances to follow them, and to share in the blessings of their conversion.

With difficulty he reached the village in which Catha-

rine lived, and informed her secretly of the object of his journey, and the desire his wife felt that she should be with her at the Mission du Sault, whose praise he set forth in a few words. As the neophyte appeared transported with joy at this disclosure, he warned her to hold herself in readiness to depart immediately on his return from his journey to the English, which he would not have made except to avoid giving umbrage to his uncle. This uncle was then absent, without having any suspicion of his niece's design. Catharine went immediately to take leave of the missionary, and to ask his recommendation to the fathers who were over the Mission du Sault. The missionary on his part, while he could not withhold his approval of the resolution of the neophyte, exhorted her to place her trust in God, and gave her those counsels which he judged necessary in the present juncture.

As the journey of her brother-in-law was only a pretext the better to conceal his design, he almost immediately returned to the village, and the day after his arrival departed with Catharine and the Indian of Loretto who had kept him company. It was not long before it was discovered in the village that the neophyte had disappeared, and they had no doubt but that she had followed the two Indians. They immediately, therefore, despatched a runner to her uncle to give him the news. The old chief, jealous of the increase of his nation, foamed with rage at the intelligence; and immediately charging his gun with three balls, he went in pursuit of those who had accompanied his niece. He made such haste that in a very short time he came up with them. The two Indians, who had known beforehand that he would not fail to pursue them, had concealed the neophyte in a thick wood, and had

stopped as if to take a little repose. The old man was very much astonished at not finding his niece with them; and after a moment's conversation, coming to the conclusion that he had credited too easily the first rumor which had been spread, he retraced his footsteps to the village. Catharine regarded this sudden retreat of her uncle as one effect of the protection of God which she enjoyed; and, continuing her route, she arrived at the Mission du Sault in the end of autumn of the year 1677.

She took up her abode with the family of her brother-in-law. The cabin belonged to one of the most fervent Christians in the place, named Anastasia, whose care it was to instruct those of her own sex who aspired to the grace of baptism. The zeal with which she discharged her duty in this employment, her conversations, and her example charmed Catharine. But what edified her exceedingly was the piety of all the converts who composed this numerous mission. Above all, she was struck with seeing men become so different from what they were when they lived in their own country. She compared their exemplary life with the licentious course they had been accustomed to lead; and recognizing the hand of God in so extraordinary a change, she ceaselessly thanked him for having conducted her into this land of blessings.

To make a suitable return for these favors from Heaven, she felt that she ought to give herself up entirely to God, without having any reserve, or permitting any thought of herself. The consecrated place became, thenceforth, all her delight. She repaired thither at four o'clock in the morning, attended the mass at the dawn of day, and afterwards assisted at that of the Indians, which was said at sunrise. During the course of the day she from time to

time broke off from her work to go and hold communion with Jesus Christ at the foot of the altar. In the evening she returned again to the church, and did not leave it until the night was far advanced. When engaged in her prayers, she seemed entirely unconscious of what was passing without; and in a short time the Holy Spirit raised her to so sublime a devotion that she often spent many hours in intimate communion with God.

To this inclination for prayer she joined an almost unceasing application to labor. She sustained herself in her toils by the pious conversations which she held with Anastasia, that fervent Christian of whom I have already spoken, and with whom she had formed a most intimate friendship. The topics on which they most generally talked were, the delight they received in the service of God, the means of pleasing him and advancing in virtue, the peculiar traits seen in the lives of the saints, the horror they should have of sin, and the care with which they should expiate by penitence those they had the misfortune to commit. She always ended the week by an exact investigation of her faults and imperfections, that she might efface them by the sacrament of penance, which she underwent every Saturday evening. For this she prepared herself by different mortifications with which she afflicted her body; and when she accused herself of faults even the most light, it was with such vivid feelings of compunction that she shed tears, and her words were choked by sighs and sobbings. The lofty idea she had of the majesty of God made her regard the least offence with horror; and when any had escaped her, she seemed not able to pardon herself for its commission.

Virtues so marked did not permit me for a very long

time to refuse her the permission which she so earnestly desired, that on the approaching festival of Christmas she should receive her first communion. This is a privilege which is not accorded to those who come to reside among the Iroquois until after some years of probation and many trials; but the piety of Catharine placed her beyond the ordinary rules. She participated, for the first time in her life, in the holy eucharist with a degree of fervor proportioned to the reverence she had for this grace, and the earnestness with which she had desired to obtain it; and on every subsequent occasion on which she approached the holy sacrament, it was always with the same disposition. Her manner alone inspired the most lukewarm with devotion; and when a general communion was about to take place, the most virtuous neophytes endeavored with emulation to be near her, because, said they, the sight alone of Catharine served them for an excellent preparation for communing worthily.

After the festival of Christmas, it being the proper season for the chase, she was not able to excuse herself from following her sister and brother-in-law into the forests. She then made it apparent that one is able to serve God in all places where his providence calls him. She did not relax any of her ordinary exercises, while her piety even suggested to her holy practices to substitute in place of those which were incompatible with a residence in the forests. There was a time set apart for every thing. In the morning she applied herself to her prayers, and concluded with those which the Indians make in common, according to their custom; and in the evening she renewed them again, continuing until the night was far advanced. While the Indians were partaking of their repast, to pre-

pare themselves to endure the chase through the whole day, she retired to some secret place to offer up her devotions. As this was a little before the time when they were accustomed to hear mass at the mission, she had fixed a cross in the trunk of a tree which she found by the side of a stream; and this solitary spot was her oratory. There she placed herself in spirit at the foot of the altar; she united her soul with that of the priest; she prayed her guardian angel to be present for her at that holy sacrifice, and to apply to her its benefits. The rest of the day she spent in laboring with the others of her sex; but, to banish all frivolous discourse and preserve her union with God, she always introduced some religious conversation, or perhaps invited them to sing hymns or anthems in praise of their Lord. Her repasts were very simple, and often she did not eat till the end of the day. At other times she secretly mixed ashes with the food provided for her, to deprive it of every thing which might afford pleasure to the taste. This is a self-mortification which she always practised when she could do so without being seen.

This sojourn in the forests was not very agreeable to Catharine, although generally pleasant to the Indian women, because, freed from domestic cares, they pass their time in amusements and feasting. She longed without ceasing for the time to arrive when they are accustomed to return to the village The church, the presence of Jesus Christ in the august sacrament of the altar, the holy sacrifice of the mass, the frequent exhortations, and the other exercises of the mission, of which she was deprived while engaged in the chase, — these were the only objects which interested her. She had no taste for any thing else. She therefore formed the determination, that, if she lived to

return once more to the mission, she would never again leave it. She arrived there near the time of Passion week, and for the first time assisted in the ceremonies of those holydays.

I shall not stop, my reverend father, to describe to you here how deeply she was affected by a spectacle so touching as that of the sorrows and death of a God for the safety of men. She shed tears almost continually, and formed the resolution to bear, for the rest of her days, in her own body the cross of Jesus Christ. From that time she sought all occasions of self-mortification, perhaps to expiate those light faults which she regarded as so many outrages against the divine Majesty, perhaps to trace in her the image of a God crucified for love of us. The conversations of Anastasia, who often talked with her of the pains of hell, and the severity which the saints exercised upon themselves, strengthened the desire she had for the austerities of penance. She found herself also animated to this course by an accident which placed her in great danger of losing her life. She was cutting a tree in the woods, which fell sooner than she expected. She had sufficient time, by drawing back, to shun the body of the tree, which would have crushed her by its fall; but she was not able to escape from one of the branches, which struck her violently on the head, and threw her senseless to the ground. She shortly afterwards recovered from her swoon, and those around heard her softly ejaculating, "I thank thee, O good Jesus, for having succored me in this danger." She did not doubt but that God had preserved her to give her time to expiate her sins by repentance. This she declared to a companion, who felt herself called, like Catharine, to a life of austerity, and with whom

she was in so close an intimacy that they communicated to each other the most secret things which took place in their innermost souls. This new association had indeed so much influence on the life of Catharine that I cannot refrain from speaking of it.

Therese (it is thus that she was named) had been baptized by Father Bruyas in the Iroquois country; but the licentiousness which prevailed among her people, and the evil example she always had before her eyes, caused her shortly to forget the vows of her baptism. Even a sojourn which she made after some time at the mission, where she had come to live with his family, only produced a partial change in her life. A most strange adventure, however, which happened to her, operated at last to her conversion.

She had gone with her husband and a young nephew to the chase, near the river of the *Outaouacks*. On their way some other Indians joined them, and they made a company of eleven persons — that is, four men and four women, with three young persons. Therese was the only Christian. The snow, which this year fell very late, prevented them from having any success in hunting; their provisions were in a short time consumed, and they were reduced to eat some skins which they had brought with them to make moccasons. At length they ate the moccasons themselves; and finally, pressed by hunger, were obliged to sustain their lives principally by herbs and the bark of trees. In the mean time the husband of Therese fell dangerously ill, and the hunters were obliged to halt. Two among them, an *Agnié* and a *Tsonnontouan*, asked leave of the party to make an excursion to some distance in search of game, promising to return at the furthest in

ten days. The *Agnié*, indeed, returned at the time appointed; but he came alone, and reported that the *Tsonnontouan* had perished by famine and misery. They suspected him of having murdered his companion, and then fed upon his flesh; for, although he declared that he had not found any game, he was nevertheless in full strength and health. A few days afterwards the husband of Therese died, experiencing in his last moments deep regret that he had not received baptism. The remainder of the company then resumed their journey, to attempt to reach the bank of the river and gain the French settlements. After two or three days' march, they became so enfeebled by want of nourishment that they were not able to advance farther. Desperation then inspired them with a strange resolution — which was, to put some of their number to death, that the lives of the rest might be preserved. They therefore selected the wife of the Tsonnontouan and her two children, who were thus in succession devoured. This spectacle terrified Therese, for she had good reason to fear the same treatment. Then she reflected on the deplorable state in which conscience told her she was; she repented bitterly that she had ever entered the forest without having first purified herself by a full confession; she asked pardon of God for the disorders of her life, and promised to confess as soon as possible and undergo penance. Her prayer was heard; and after incredible fatigues she reached the village with four others, who alone remained of the company. She did, indeed, fulfil one part of the promise, for she confessed herself soon after her return; but she was more backward to reform her life and subject herself to the rigors of penance.

One day, while she was looking at the new church they

were building at the Sault, after they had removed thither the mission which before had been at the prairie of the Madeleine, she met with Catharine, who was also inspecting it. They saluted each other for the first time; and, entering into conversation, Catharine asked her which portion of the church was to be set apart for the females. Therese pointed out the place which she thought would be appropriated to them. "Alas!" answered Catharine, with a sigh, "it is not in this material temple that God most loves to dwell. It is within ourselves that he wishes to take up his abode. Our hearts are the temple which is most agreeable to him. But, miserable being that I am, how many times have I forced him to abandon this heart in which he should reign alone! And do I not deserve that, to punish me for my ingratitude, they should forever exclude me from this temple which they are raising to his glory?"

The humility of these sentiments deeply touched the heart of Therese. At the same time she felt herself pressed by remorse of conscience to fulfil what she had promised to the Lord; and she did not doubt but that God had directed to her this holy female, to support her by her counsels and example in the new kind of life she wished to embrace. She therefore opened her heart to Catharine on the holy desires with which God had inspired her, and insensibly the conversation led them to disclose to each other their most secret thoughts. To converse with greater ease, they went and sat at the foot of a cross which was erected on the banks of the River St. Lawrence. This first interview, which revealed the uniformity of their sentiments and inclinations, began to strengthen the bonds of a holy friendship, which lasted even to the death of Cath-

arine. From this time they were inseparable. They went together to the church, to the forest, and to their daily labor — they animated each other to the service of God by their religious conversations — they mutually communicated their pains and dislikes — they disclosed their faults — they encouraged each other to the practice of austere virtues; and thus were mutually of infinite service in advancing more and more in their views of perfection.

It was thus that God prepared Catharine for a new contest which her love of celibacy obliged her to undergo. Interested views inspired her sister with the design of marrying her. She supposed there was not a young man then in the Mission du Sault who would not be ambitious of the honor of being united to so virtuous a female, and that thus, having the whole village from which to make her choice, she would be able to select for her brother-in-law some able hunter who would bring abundance to the cabin. She expected, indeed, to meet with difficulties on the part of Catharine, for she was not ignorant of the persecutions this generous girl had already suffered, and the constancy with which she had sustained them; but she persuaded herself that the force of reason would finally vanquish her opposition. She selected, therefore, a particular day; and after having shown Catharine even more affection than ordinary, she addressed her with that eloquence which is natural to these Indians when they are engaged in any thing which concerns their interests.

"I must confess, my dear sister," said she, with a manner full of sweetness and affability, "you are under great obligations to the Lord for having brought you, as well as ourselves, from our unhappy country, and for having conducted you to the Mission du Sault, where every thing is

favorable to your piety. If you are rejoiced to be here, I have no less satisfaction at having you with me. You every day, indeed, increase our pleasure by the wisdom of your conduct, which draws upon you general esteem and approbation. There only remains one thing for you to do to complete our happiness; which is, to think seriously of establishing yourself by a good and judicious marriage. All the young girls among us take this course; you are of an age to act as they do; and you are bound to do so even more particularly than others, either to shun the occasions of sin, or to supply the necessities of life. It is true that it is a source of great pleasure to us, both to your brother-in-law and myself, to furnish these things for you; but you know that he is in the decline of life, and that we are charged with the care of a large family. If you were to be deprived of us, to whom could you have recourse? Think of these things, Catharine; provide for yourself a refuge from the evils which accompany poverty; and determine as soon as possible to prepare to avoid them, while you can do it so easily, and in a way so advantageous both to yourself and to our family."

There was nothing which Catharine less expected than a proposition of this kind; but the kindness and respect she felt for her sister induced her to conceal her pain, and she contented herself with merely answering, that she thanked her for this advice, but the step was of great consequence, and she would think of it seriously. It was thus that she warded off the first attack. She immediately came to seek me, to complain bitterly of these importunate solicitations of her sister. As I did not appear to accede entirely to her reasoning, and, for the purpose of proving her, dwelt on those considerations which ought to incline

her to marriage, "Ah, my father," said she, "I am not any longer my own. I have given myself entirely to Jesus Christ, and it is not possible for me to change masters. The poverty with which I am threatened gives me no uneasiness. So little is requisite to supply the necessities of this wretched life that my labor can furnish this, and I can always find some miserable rags to cover me." I sent her away, saying that she should think well on the subject, for it was one which merited the most serious attention.

Scarcely had she returned to the cabin when her sister, impatient to bring her over to her views, pressed her anew to end her wavering by forming an advantageous settlement. But, finding from the reply of Catharine that it was useless to attempt to change her mind, she determined to enlist Anastasia in her interests, since they both regarded her as their mother. In this she was successful. Anastasia was readily induced to believe that Catharine had too hastily formed her resolution, and therefore employed all that influence which age and virtue gave her over the mind of the young girl, to persuade her that marriage was the only part she ought to take.

This measure, however, had no greater success than the other; and Anastasia, who had always until that time found so much docility in Catharine, was extremely surprised at the little deference she paid to her counsels. She even bitterly reproached her, and threatened to bring her complaints to me. Catharine anticipated her in this; and after having related the pains they forced her to suffer to induce her to adopt a course so little to her taste, she prayed me to aid her in consummating the sacrifice she wished to make of herself to Jesus Christ, and to provide her a

refuge from the opposition she had to undergo from Anastasia and her sister. I praised her design, but at the same time advised her to take yet three days to deliberate on an affair of such importance, and during that time to offer up extraordinary prayers that she might be better taught the will of God; after which, if she still persisted in her resolution, I promised her to put an end to the importunities of her relatives. She at first acquiesced in what I proposed, but in less than a quarter of an hour came back to seek me. "It is settled," said she, as she came near me; "it is not a question for deliberation; my part has long since been taken, No, my father, I can have no other spouse but Jesus Christ." I thought that it would be wrong for me any longer to oppose a resolution which seemed to me inspired by the Holy Spirit, and therefore exhorted her to perseverance, assuring her that I would undertake her defence against those who wished henceforth to disturb her on that subject. This answer restored her former tranquillity of mind, and reëstablished in her soul that inward peace which she preserved even to the end of her life.

Scarcely had she gone when Anastasia came to complain in her turn that Catharine would not listen to any advice, but followed only her own whims. She was running on in this strain, when I interrupted her by saying that I was acquainted with the cause of her dissatisfaction, but was astonished that a Christian as old as she was could disapprove of an action which merited the highest praise, and that, if she had faith, she ought to know the value of a state so sublime as that of celibacy, which rendered feeble men like to the angels themselves. At these words Anastasia seemed to be in a perfect dream; and as she pos-

sessed a deeply-seated devotion of spirit, she almost immediately began to turn the blame upon herself. She admired the courage of this virtuous girl, and at length became the foremost to fortify her in the holy resolution she had taken. It was thus that God turned these different contradictions to be a benefit to his servant, and it also furnished Catharine with a new motive to serve God with greater fervor. She therefore added new practices to the ordinary exercises of piety. Feeble as she was, she redoubled her diligence in labor, her watchings, fastings, and other austerities.

It was then the end of autumn, when the Indians are accustomed to form their parties to go out to hunt during the winter in the forests. The sojourn which Catharine had already made there, and the pain she had suffered at being deprived of the religious privileges she possessed in the village, had induced her to form the resolution, as I have already mentioned, that she would never during her life return there. I thought, however, that the change of air, and the diet, which is so much better in the forest, would be able to restore her health, which was now very much impaired. It was for this reason that I advised her to follow the family and others who went to the hunting grounds. She answered me, in that deeply devotional manner which was so natural to her, "It is true, my father, that my body is served most luxuriously in the forest; but the soul languishes there, and is not able to satisfy its hunger. On the contrary, in the village the body suffers; I am contented that it should be so; but the soul finds its delight in being near to Jesus Christ. Well, then, I will willingly abandon this miserable body to hunger and suffering, provided that my soul may have its ordinary nourishment."

She remained, therefore, during the winter in the village, where she lived only on Indian corn, and was subjected, indeed, to much suffering. But not content with allowing her body only this insipid food, which could scarcely sustain it, she subjected it also to austerities and excessive penances, without taking counsel of any one, persuading herself that, while the object was self-mortification, she was right in giving herself up to every thing which could increase her fervor. She was incited to these holy exercises by the noble examples of self-mortification which she always had before her eyes. The spirit of penance reigned among the Christians at the Sault. Fastings, discipline carried even unto blood, belts lined with points of iron, — these were their most common austerities; and some of them, by these voluntary macerations, prepared themselves, when the time came, to suffer the most fearful torments.

The war was once more rekindled between the French and the Iroquois; and the latter invited their countrymen who were at the Mission du Sault to return to their own country, where they promised them entire liberty in the exercise of their religion. The refusal with which these offers were met transported them with fury, and the Christian Indians who remained at the Sault were immediately declared enemies of their nation. A party of Iroquois surprised some of them while hunting, and carried them away to their country, where they were burned by a slow fire. But these noble and faithful men, even in the midst of the most excruciating torments, preached Jesus Christ to those who were torturing them so cruelly, and conjured them, as soon as possible, to embrace Christianity, to deliver themselves from eternal fires. One in particular among them, named Etienne, signalized his constancy and

faith. When environed by the burning flames, he did not cease to encourage his wife, who was suffering the same torture, to invoke with him the holy name of Jesus. Being on the point of expiring, he rallied all his strength, and, in imitation of his Master, prayed the Lord with a loud voice for the conversion of those who had treated him with such inhumanity. Many of the savages, touched by a spectacle so new to them, abandoned their country and came to the Mission du Sault, to ask for baptism, and live there in accordance with the laws of the gospel.

The women were not behind their husbands in the ardor they showed for a life of penance. They even went to such extremes, that, when it came to our knowledge, we were obliged to moderate their zeal. Besides the ordinary instruments of mortification which they employed, they had a thousand new inventions to inflict suffering upon themselves. Some placed themselves in the snow when the cold was most severe; others stripped themselves to the waist in retired places, and remained a long time exposed to the rigor of the season, on the banks of a frozen river, and where the wind was blowing with violence. There were even those who, after having broken the ice in the ponds, plunged themselves in up to the neck, and remained there as long as it was necessary for them to recite many times the ten beads of their rosary. One of them did this three nights in succession; and it was the cause of so violent a fever that it was thought she would have died of it. Another one surprised me extremely by her simplicity. I learned that, not content with having herself used this mortification, she had also plunged her daughter, but three years old, into the frozen river, from which she drew her out half dead. When I sharply re-

proached her indiscretion, she answered me with a surprising *naïveté*, that she did not think she was doing any thing wrong, but that, knowing her daughter would one day certainly offend the Lord, she had wished to impose on her in advance the pain which her sin merited.

Although those who inflicted these mortifications on themselves were particular to conceal them from the knowledge of the public, yet Catharine, who had a mind quick and penetrating, did not fail from various appearances to conjecture that which they held so secret; and as she studied every means to testify more and more her love to Jesus Christ, she applied herself to examine every thing that was done pleasing to the Lord, that she might herself immediately put it in practice. It was for this reason that while passing some days at Montreal, where for the first time she saw the nuns, she was so charmed with their modesty and devotion that she informed herself most thoroughly with regard to the manner in which these holy sisters lived and the virtues which they practised. Having learned that they were Christian virgins, who were consecrated to God by a vow of perpetual continence, she gave me no peace until I had granted her permission to make the same sacrifice of herself, not by a simple resolution to guard her virginity, such as she had already made, but by an irrevocable engagement which obliged her to belong to God without any recall. I would not, however, give my consent to this step until I had well proved her, and been anew convinced that it was the Spirit of God, acting in this excellent girl, which had thus inspired her with a design of which there had never been an example among the Indians.

For this great event she chose the day on which we cel-

ebrate the festival of the annunciation of the most Holy Virgin. The moment after she had received our Lord in the holy communion, she pronounced with admirable fervor the vow she had made of perpetual virginity. She then addressed the Holy Virgin, for whom she had a most tender devotion, praying her to present to her son the oblation of herself which she had just made; after which she passed some hours at the foot of the altar in holy meditation and in perfect union with God.

From that time Catharine seemed to be entirely divorced from this world; and she aspired continually to heaven, where she had fixed all her desires. She seemed even to taste in anticipation the sweetness of that heavenly state; but her body was not sufficiently strong to sustain the weight of her austerities, and the constant effort of her spirit to maintain itself in the presence of God. She was at length seized with a violent illness, from which she never entirely recovered. There always remained an affection of the stomach, accompanied by frequent vomiting, and a slow fever, which undermined her constitution by degrees, and threw her into a weakness which insensibly wasted her away. It was, however, evident that her soul acquired new strength in proportion as her body decayed. The nearer she approached the termination of her career, the more clearly she shone forth in all those virtues which she had practised with so much edification. But I need not stop here to particularize them to you, except to mention a few of those which made the most impression and were the source and spring of all the others.

She had a most tender love for God. Her only pleasure seemed to be, to keep herself in contemplation in his presence, to meditate on his majesty and mercy, to sing his

praises, and continually to desire new ways of pleasing him. It was principally to prevent distraction from other thoughts that she so often withdrew into solitude. Anastasia and Therese were the only two Christians with whom she wished much to associate, because they talked most of God, and their conversations breathed nothing but divine love.

From thence arose the peculiar devotion she had for the holy eucharist and the passion of our Savior. These two mysteries of the love of the same God, concealed under the veil of the eucharist and his dying on the cross, ceaselessly occupied her spirit, and kindled in her heart the purest flames of love. Every day she was seen to pass whole hours at the foot of the altar, immovable, as if transported beyond herself. Her eyes often explained the sentiments of her breast by the abundance of tears she shed; and in these tears she found so great delight that she was, as it were, insensible to the most severe cold of winter. Often, seeing her benumbed with cold, I have sent her to the cabin to warm herself. She obeyed immediately, but the moment after returned to the church, and continued there in long communion with Jesus Christ.

To keep alive her devotion for the mystery of our Savior's passion, and to have it always present to her mind, she carried on her breast a little crucifix which I had given her. She often kissed it with feelings of the most tender compassion for the suffering Jesus, and with the most vivid remembrance of the benefits of our redemption. One day, wishing particularly to honor Jesus Christ in this double mystery of his love, after having received the holy communion, she made a perpetual oblation of her soul to Jesus in the eucharist, and of her body to Jesus

attached to the cross; and thenceforth she was ingenious to imagine every day new ways of afflicting and crucifying her flesh.

During the winter, while she was in the forest with her companions, she would follow them at a distance, taking off her shoes and walking with her naked feet over the ice and snow. Having heard Anastasia say that of all torments that of fire was the most frightful, and that the constancy of the martyrs who had suffered this torture would be a great merit with the Lord, the following night she burned her feet and limbs with a hot brand, very much in the same way that the Indians mark their slaves, persuading herself that by this action she had declared herself the slave of her Savior. At another time she strewed the mat on which she slept with large thorns, the points of which were very sharp; and, after the example of the holy and thrice happy St. Louis de Gonzague, she rolled herself for three nights in succession on these thorns, which caused her the most intense pain. In consequence of these things her countenance was entirely wasted and pale, which those around her attributed to illness. But Therese, the companion whom she had taken so much into her confidence, having discovered the reason of this extraordinary paleness, aroused her scruples by declaring that she might offend God if she inflicted such austerities on herself without the permission of her confessor. Catharine, who trembled at the very appearance of sin, came immediately to find me, to confess her fault and demand pardon of God. I blamed her indiscretion, and directed her to throw the thorns into the fire. She did so immediately, for she had an implicit submission to the judgment of those who directed her conscience; and, enlightened as

she was by that illumination with which God favored her, she never manifested the least attachment to her own will.

Her patience was the proof of all her acquirements. In the midst of her continual infirmities she always preserved a peace and serenity of spirit which charmed us. She never forgot herself, either to utter a complaint or give the slightest sign of impatience. During the last two months of her life her sufferings were extraordinary. She was obliged to remain night and day in the same position, and the least movement caused her the most intense pain. But when these pains were felt with the greatest severity, then she seemed most content, esteeming herself happy, as she herself said, to live and die on the cross, uniting her sufferings to those of her Savior.

As she was full of faith, she had a high idea of every thing relating to religion; and this inspired her with a particular respect for those whom God called to the holy ministry. Her hope was firm, her love disinterested, serving God for the sake of God himself, and influenced only by the desire to please him. Her devotion was tender even to tears; her communion with God intimate and uninterrupted, never losing sight of him in all her actions; and it was this which raised her in so short a time to so sublime a state of piety.

In short, there was nothing more remarkable in Catharine than this angelical purity, of which she was so jealous, and which she preserved even to her latest breath. It was, indeed, a miracle of grace that a young Iroquois should have had so strong an attachment to a virtue so little known in her own country, and that she should have lived in such innocence of life during twenty years that she remained in the very midst of licentiousness and dis-

soluteness. It was this love of purity which produced in her heart so tender an affection for the Queen of Virgins. Catharine could never speak of Our Lady but with transport. She had learned by heart her litanies, and recited them all, particularly in the evening, after the common prayers of the cabin. She always carried with her a rosary, which she recited many times in the course of the day. The Saturdays and other days which are particularly consecrated to her honor she devoted to extraordinary austerities, and devoted herself to the practical imitation of some of her virtues. She redoubled her fervor when they celebrated one of these festivals; and she selected such holydays to offer to God some new sacrifice, or to renew those which she had already made.

It was to be expected that so holy a life would be followed by a most happy death; and so it was in the last moments of her life that she edified us most by the practise of her virtues, and above all by her patience and union with God. She found herself very ill towards the time that the men are accustomed to go out to the hunting grounds in the forest, and when the females are occupied from morning even till evening in the fields. Those who are ill are therefore obliged to remain alone through the whole day in their cabins, a plate of Indian corn and a little water having in the morning been placed near their mat. It was in this abandonment that Catharine passed all the time of her last illness. But what would have overwhelmed another person with sadness, contributed rather to increase her joy, by furnishing her with something to increase her merit. Accustomed to commune alone with God, she turned this solitude to her profit, and made it serve to attach her more to her Creator by her prayers and fervent meditations.

Nevertheless, the time of her last struggle approached, and her strength each day diminished. She failed considerably during the Tuesday of Holy week; and I therefore thought it well to administer to her the holy communion, which she received with her usual feelings of devotion. I wished also at the same time to give her extreme unction; but she told me there was as yet no pressing necessity; and from what she said, I thought I would defer it till the next morning. The rest of that day and the following night she passed in fervent communion with our Lord and the Holy Virgin. On Wednesday morning she received extreme unction with the same feelings of devotion; and at three hours after midday, after having pronounced the holy names of JESUS and MARY, a slight spasm came on, when she entirely lost the power of speech. As she preserved a perfect consciousness even to her last breath, I perceived that she was striving to perform inwardly all the acts which I suggested to her. After a short half hour of agony she peaceably expired, as if she was only falling into a sweet sleep.

Thus died Catharine Tegahkouita in the twenty-fourth year of her age, having filled the mission with the odor of her sanctity and the character of holiness which she left behind her. Her countenance, which had been extremely attenuated by the maladies and constant austerities, appeared so changed and pleasant some moments after her death that the Indians who were present were not able to restrain the expression of their astonishment, and declared that a beam of that glory she had gone to possess was even reflected back on her body. Two Frenchmen, who had come from the prairie of the Madeleine to assist in the services of Thursday morning, seeing her extended on

her mat, with her countenance so fresh and sweet, said one to the other, "See how peaceably that young female sleeps!" But they were very much surprised when they learned a moment after that it was the body of Catharine, who had just expired. They immediately retraced their steps, and, casting themselves on their knees at her feet, recommended themselves to her prayers. They even wished to give a public evidence of the veneration they had for the deceased by immediately assisting to make the coffin which was to enclose those holy relics.

I make use of this expression, my reverend father, with the greater confidence, because God did not delay to honor the memory of this virtuous girl by an infinite number of miraculous cures, which took place after her death, and which continue to take place daily through her intercession. This is a fact well known, not only to the Indians, but also to the French at Quebec and Montreal, who often make pilgrimages to her tomb to fulfil their vows, or to return thanks for favors which she has obtained for them in heaven. I could here relate to you a great number of these miraculous cures, which have been attested by individuals the most enlightened, and whose probity is above suspicion; but I will content myself with making you acquainted with the testimony of two persons remarkable for virtue and merit, who, having themselves proved the power of this sainted female with God, felt they were bound to leave a public monument for posterity, to satisfy at the same time their piety and their gratitude.

The first testimonial is that of M. de la Colombière, canon of the Cathedral of Quebec, grand vicar of the diocese. He expresses himself in these terms: —

Having been ill at Quebec during the past year, from the month of January even to the month of June, of a slow fever, against which all remedies had been tried in vain, and of a diarrhœa, which even ipecacuana could not cure, it was thought well to record a vow, in case it should please God to relieve me of these two maladies, to make a pilgrimage to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, to pray at the tomb of Catharine Tegahkouita. On the very same day the fever ceased; and the diarrhœa having become better, I embarked some days afterwards to fulfil my vow. Scarcely had I accomplished one third of my journey when I found myself perfectly cured. As my health is something so very useless that I should not have dared to ask for it, if I had not felt myself obliged to do so by the deference which I ought to have for the servants of the Lord, it is impossible reasonably to withhold the belief that God, in according to me this grace, had no other view than to make known the credit which this excellent maiden had with him. For myself, I should fear that I was unjustly withholding the truth, and refusing to the missions of Canada the glory which is due to them, if I did not testify, as I have now done, that I am a debtor for my cure to this Iroquois virgin. It is for this reason that I have given the present attestation, with every sentiment of gratitude of which I am capable, to increase, as far as is in my power, the confidence which is felt in my benefactress, but still more to excite the desire to imitate her virtues.

Given at Villemarie, the 14th of September, 1696.

J. DE LA COLOMBIÈRE, P. J.,
Canon of the Cathedral of Quebec.

The second testimonial is from M. du Luth, captain in

the marine corps, and commander of Fort Frontinac. It is thus that he speaks: —

I, the subscriber, certify to all whom it may concern, that, having been tormented by the gout for the space of twenty-three years, and with such severe pains that it gave me no rest for the space of three months at a time, I addressed myself to Catharine Tegahkouita, an Iroquois virgin, deceased at the Sault St. Louis in the reputation of sanctity; and I promised her to visit her tomb, if God should give me health through her intercession. I have been so perfectly cured, at the end of one novena * which I made in her honor, that after five months I have not perceived the slightest touch of my gout.

Given at Fort Frontinac, this 15th of August, 1696.

J. DU LUTH,
Captain of the marine corps,
Commander of Fort Frontinac.

I have thought that a narrative of the virtues of this holy female, born thus in the midst of heathenism and among savages, would serve to edify those who, having been born in the bosom of Christianity, have also every possible aid in raising themselves to the height of holiness.

I have the honor to be, &c.

* A novena is a course of devotional services extending through nine days.

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